

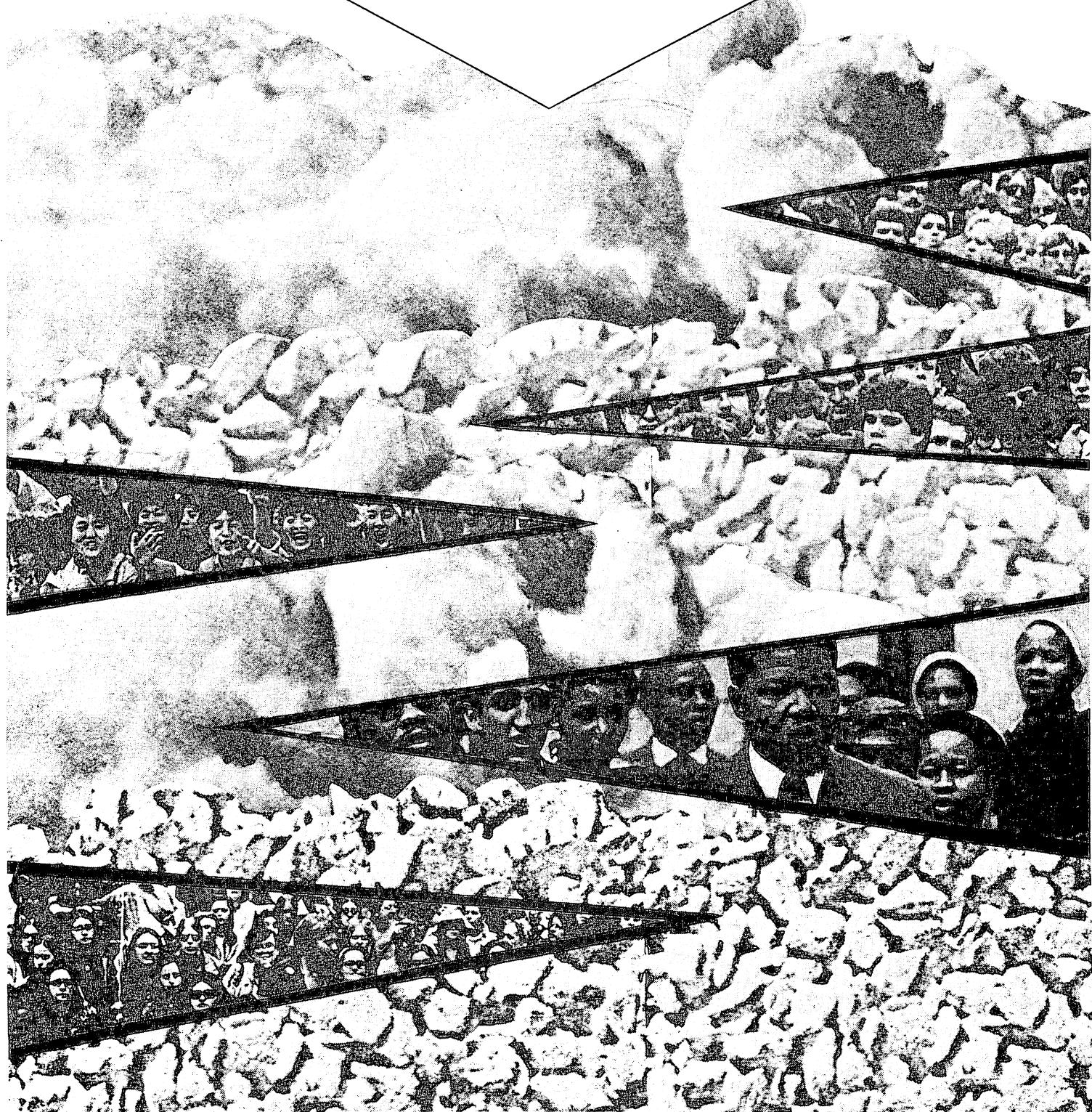
GREEN LETTER



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Greener Times



Movement Building

A letter from the GL Collective:

Building a Movement

With Earth Day come and gone, the question remains, was it all hype, or does it promise hope? We believe that building a long-term, effective movement to bring about ecological and social justice is no small matter. Life hangs in the balance. This issue is the first of a two-part series on what it means, and what it will take, to build such a movement.

Our feature article describes successful efforts to build a broad-based coalition around Earth Day in Milwaukee, illustrating that "middle-class whites" are not the only people ready to move to protect the environment. Sharon Howell articulates a strategy to build a Green movement that is rooted in community and comprehensive in scope. Other articles grapple with particular issues that arise when organizers try to inspire more people to action and broaden the movement.

Our plans to continue this discussion next issue include an article by John Rensenbrink, on the relationship between community organizing, direct action and electoral politics; an interview with Jimmy and Grace Lee Boggs, of the Detroit Greens, both of whom have been organizing for over 50 years; an update on the challenge to the "Big Ten" environmental organizations to deal with their racism, Margo Adair on the politics of process, Mike Wyatt on value-based politics, and Ellen Smith on gender tokenism. We will also include pieces on accountability, the nuts & bolts of organizing and social movement theory.

Evolving Green Program

This GL is another special issue (GL usually ranges from 40 to 50 pages) because it includes the latest version of the Evolving Green Committees of Correspondence Program—SPAKA (Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas). The Greens across the US have been engaged in a decentralized participatory process of establishing positions on a range of questions. As in any truly democratic grassroots undertaking, it is uneven and contradictory in places—but for Greens the process is as important as the product. These documents will receive final amendments and be agreed to at the next national Green gathering (see below).

GL Prints so GL Plants

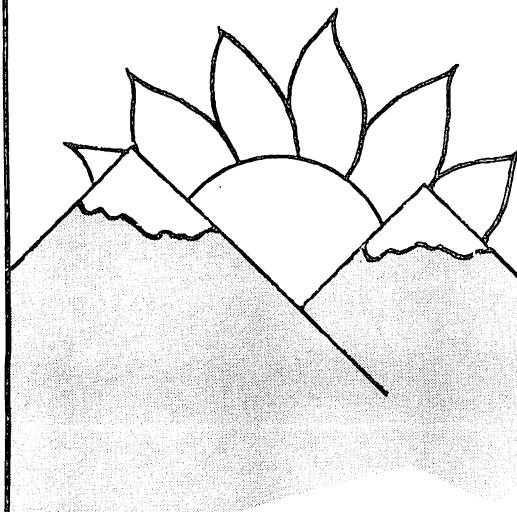
Green Letter is happy and honored to announce that we are supplying trees which the SOSAD (Save Our Sons and Daughters) Harvest 90 Project will plant as part of their Harvest Garden Project. For the past three years, SOSAD has had a plot of land next to a church, where children garden, and make jams and preservatives which they sell. They are planting trees around their garden, and throughout Detroit, in memory of their friends who have died as victims of street violence. The planting will continue through the summer to meet SOSAD's goal of planting 6000 trees (See "Earth Day in Detroit," page 5).

If you would like to support SOSAD or help buy trees for the SOSAD Harvest 90 Project, contact SOSAD: 453 Martin Luther King Blvd., Detroit MI 48201; (313) 833-3030.

—GL

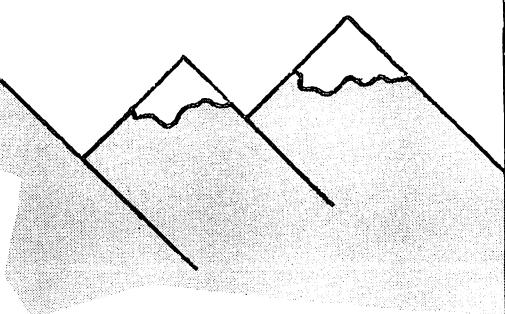
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(See story on page 35)

GREEN LETTER



Greener Times

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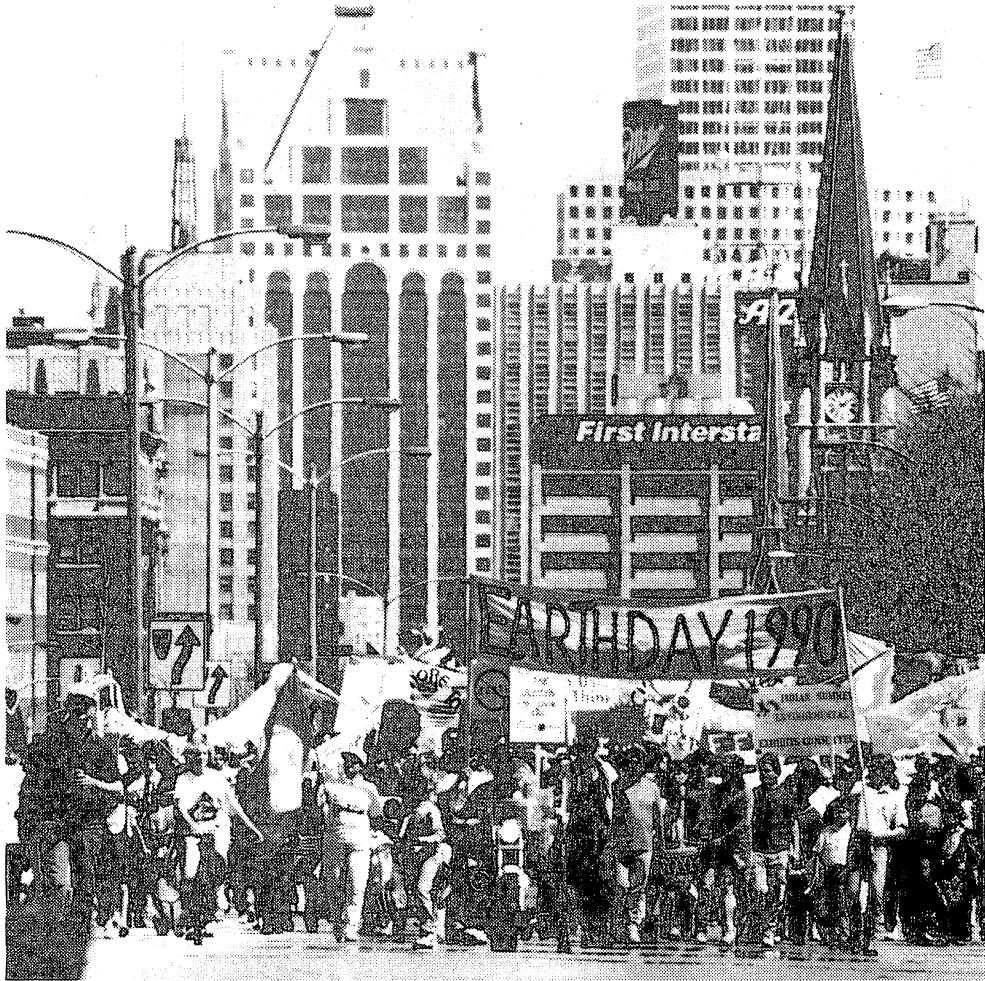
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Earth Day was organized as a stepping stone to building a grassroots, multi-racial movement which sees the connection between protecting the environment and protecting people.

We believe issues like racism, homelessness, unemployment are all environmental concerns.



Earth Day in Milwaukee

Rae Vogeler and Mike Wunsch
Milwaukee Greens

Earth Day 1990 has been criticized as a slick media event which did little to build on-going organizations. Nationally, the emphasis on personal lifestyle changes left corporations and politicians off the hook. This in turn fostered the belief that the "system" is not the problem, that all we have to do is recycle, reuse and reduce to improve our environment. We, in Milwaukee, set out to build a different kind of Earth Day.

The Milwaukee Earth Day Parade and Festival, attended by over 30,000 people, was the largest and most ethnically diverse environmental activity ever held in our city. Participants included school children, unionists, neighborhood block clubs, peace and justice groups, senior citizen organizations, activists from the Native American,

Hispanic and black communities, suburbanites, and more. We had speakers on issues ranging from toxic pollution to homelessness, from recycling to Indian treaty rights, from copper mining in Northern Wisconsin to workplace health and safety. Corporations and politicians were distinctly absent from our event.

Earth Day was organized as a stepping stone to building a grassroots, multi-racial movement which sees the connection between protecting the environment and protecting people. We believe issues like racism, homelessness, unemployment are all environmental concerns. Toxic dumps are not in rich white suburbs, they are in our inner cities. People will not be concerned about the environment when they have no

roof over their heads and no food on their tables. If we want to treat nature better we have to start treating people better. This kind of grass-roots orientation was promoted at the Earth Day Parade and Festival. Community organizers—those doing the work—were featured, rather than politicians, businesses and other rip-off "environmentalists."

We had to work hard at making this event community based. We were inundated with calls from government institutions. Suddenly, everyone was an environmentalist. We had many internal discussions about who we would put on the platform, how we would build the parade, and what money we would accept. This process was difficult, but also empowering.

Politicians

We decided to admit only a few politicians to our platform—the mayor and secretary of state, otherwise politicians would sidetrack Earth Day, and turn it into a political campaign event. As the time drew near, it was evident that the parade and festival would be massive and ethnically diverse. This was due to the range of workshop topics, popular community speakers, multi-cultural entertainment, and extended, grass-roots outreach campaign.

A Noncommercial Parade

We also learned that it was not necessary to mainstream and commercialize the parade. As companies tried to strong arm their way into the parade, we discovered that we needed some kind of policy. We didn't want the parade to become an advertising scheme for those businesses who wanted to buy a clean image and make money off the environmental movement. Rather, we were promoting "a grass-roots participatory parade," as our leaflets explained. To this end, we developed a no-vehicle, no advertising, no politician's contingent policy. This meant a number of things. One, the only vehicle we allowed in the parade was the Milwaukee County Transit (MCT) System trolley. We were working in coalition with MCT to promote mass transit as one solution to auto pollution. Other vehicles, such as old-time cars and trucks pulling floats, would just muddy our image and political intent. Two, companies were not allowed to participate as institutions, trying to advertise their names and products. We asked businesses, such as Shamrock Carriages, to mask the name on their carriage with a banner that promoted environmental issues rather than their services. Workers at Wisconsin Electric were asked to walk as concerned individuals, not Wisconsin Electric employees. Unions, on the other hand, were encouraged to bring out contingents. We were promoting self-organization, not corporate organization. Three, politicians were not assigned a sepa-

rate contingent. We didn't feel they should stand out from the rest of us; they were asked to participate as concerned citizens. The mayor and secretary of state were the only exceptions. They, along with Earth Day and the Native American contingent, led off the parade. We felt this was appropriate to the occasion, especially in Milwaukee where parades and festivals are customarily opened by the mayor. However, this did irk some Earth Day organizers because the mayor walked a few blocks and then cut out after the media cameras subsided.

Funding Sources

The question of corporate contributions provided us with an unprecedented opportunity to talk politics and discover our dividing lines. Whose money would we accept? How would we raise funds? This was, perhaps, the most controversial and poignant issue we faced. Earth Day had and still has a diverse membership, with wide-ranging politics and experiences. Our fundraising discussion oc-

promotional materials, more phones, and lots of other unanticipated expenses. Before we knew it, we were looking at a \$30,000 plus operating budget.

All we could do was fly by the seat of our pants. Earth Day was a happening. We

we developed a no-vehicle, no advertising, no politician policy

couldn't slow down our organizing and cut back our costs. Individuals made personal commitments and overcommitments by donating inordinate amounts of time and labor (taking sick days from work and leaves of absence), loaning money, and signing contracts in the hopes that we could come through with the funds. While in the thick of this crisis, corporations came forward with financial offers. Waste Management, Wisconsin Electric, Miller Compressing (to name a few) approached us with cash contributions. We decided to stand strong, and check the records of companies before accepting money and endorsements. If they had a dirty record, we turned them down. This was difficult, but proved successful.

Our go-it-alone strategy captured the imagination of the community. Organizations and individuals, alike, were inspired by our stand, and saw the parade and festival as their event. Alternative media and community leaders talked up Earth Day as a clean, corporate-free activity. We relied on self-organized fundraising to sustain ourselves. This included a walk-a-thon, bike-a-thon, fundraising letter, program/ad book, individual pledges, Holly Near/Claudia Schmidt Benefit Concert, and assorted fundraising on April 22nd (booth fees, beverages, percentages of food profits, a raffle, passing the hat, and parking charges). The only exceptions to this rule were the donations we accepted from Aveda (organic cosmetics company) and Milwaukee Foundation. A month after Earth Day, we are still working on monies. As bills and income continue to trickle in, we aren't sure if we are ahead or behind. However, we are proud of how our fundraising approach worked.

Looking Back at Our Approach

We planned and built the event with several goals in mind: to reach out and edu-



curred in the midst of a financial crisis. We had no money, and little expertise at raising funds. We only had a few short months in which to come up with thousands and thousands of dollars. As Earth Day grew, our budget skyrocketed. Suddenly we needed money for insurance, tents, extra buildings, more speakers and performers, additional

See "Milwaukee" page 36

Building A Green Movement

Sharon Howell
Detroit Greens

Sharon Howell is a member of the Detroit Greens and the social justice green platform group. The following speech was given in the spring of 1989 for Green Talks sponsored by the San Francisco Greens. Sharon is a scholar on social movement theory, and has been a community activist in Detroit for the past fifteen years. She also is the co-author of *The Subjective Side of Politics* and the newly released pamphlet *Alliance Building: Putting Politics into Process*.

All of us are here tonight, whether or not we consider ourselves "greens", because we have been moved by the crisis of our environment. At some level we all know that the decisions we make as a people over the next few years will determine the future of humankind and the fate of the earth, herself. So tonight we need to do some serious questioning. I intend to raise questions to provoke you, to provoke our thinking together about how to approach this crisis, for these questions face all of us.

In chaotic and confusing times such as these, I find it helpful to begin thinking by looking back to the small mining town where I grew up in the mountains of Pennsylvania. There, much of what is obscured behind our high tech, urban society was more easily seen.

One of the most vivid images I have from that time was the ever present and growing slag heap at the end of the valley.

every day, in pursuit of making a living, we were burying ourselves a little more

Slag is the dead waste of coal mining. It's a dull gray ash on which nothing grows—ever. So every day men would go down into mines, sending up coal to be carted off in railroad cars, and slag, to be dumped truckload by truckload at the end of town. And every day the pile would get a little bigger, reaching out into the woods and down toward the

houses. So every day, in pursuit of making a living, we were burying ourselves a little more.

How did people react to this? Some tried to ignore it. Some thought there were others who "knew better" than they. Some thought that science would find a way out. Most tried to live their lives as best they could. But somewhere in the minds of all of us, we knew that one day, the slag would overtake us. Yet we kept on, in plain view that we would lose. We kept on, not because we didn't know, but because we didn't know what else to do.

This is precisely where we are as a nation today. All across the country, people know we are burying ourselves. Some try to ignore it, some look to others, some hope science will find a way out. But all of us know it is overtaking us, and we don't know what else to do.

The questions before us are not ones of how to get people to understand we are facing ecological disaster. Rather they are questions of strategy. Questions of how to create a cohesive movement for fundamental change—a movement that engages broad groups of people, from many different segments of our population to act on what they know is true. This means thinking in terms of resistance, withdrawal, confrontation and the creation of new ways of thinking and being.

It seems it is always a lot easier for us to talk about why the world is in danger, to document the problem, rather than to devote our creative energies to developing processes that will bring many different kinds of people together to solve it. Yet we, who are so aware of how deadly the approaching "slag heap" is to all life, must begin to talk about strategies with as much wisdom and creativity as we have, or we will be no different from those who just keep walking on by it every day....

Fortunately, questions of strategy are not remote. We are living in a century that has witnessed tremendous social movements, particularly labor, civil rights, black power,

anti-war, women's and gay and lesbian movements. There is much to be learned from these, and much of it is part of our own experience. Many of us in this room, know from our own lives the questions, the processes, the kind of day to day hard work it takes to create movements.

And in more recent years, we have seen enormous mass mobilizations of people around specific issues, most importantly being the anti nuclear movements which have mounted and sustained the largest direct actions and mobilizations in history.

We have experience, but we have not had the kind of hard reflection on these experiences in ways necessary to draw the lessons we need now.

What does it mean to think strategically?

It means we have to find ways to mobilize different sections of our people for struggle, to understand and know that in any general crisis, different groups of our people are affected differently. It also means we have to know that there are different forces involved, representing fundamentally opposing interests. We are not talking about problems of "lack of information" but of fundamentally incompatible world views. And we need to know where we are in time, to understand the objective conditions that are affecting the consciousness of people. We need to look honestly at what is holding us back, what is keeping us as a people underdeveloped and inactive. Finally, we need to look at the interplay among these.

In looking at these strategic concerns there are some major areas I want to discuss with you tonight.

First, we need to understand that the objective situation of the environmental crisis has had an impact on the general consciousness of people. There is now pervasive concern for our environment. Just think of the last decade. We have all experienced Love Canal, Three Mile Island, Bhopal, Chernobyl, numerous oil spills, the collapse of the refinery into the Ohio and Mississippi, the drought and heat of last summer, the absence of winter and the natural disasters of

Mount St. Helen, the earthquakes and floods. All of this has had a cumulative affect on our collective conscience.

A friend of mine told me about a conversation she overheard in a local beauty shop in Detroit. Two women were talking about the weather, and one turned to the other and said, "You know, I think the earth is trying to tell us something, I think its trying to tell us to clean up our act." When ordinary people, in the most ordinary of conversations, regard the earth as living, as warning us, and reflect the depth of this crisis; we are no longer in an "ordinary" time.

Strategically, this general level of awareness means that we have many potential allies. It is possible to envision an environmental movement where even Republicans would join us.

But this general awareness should not lead us to think that everyone is affected in the same way. First, there are clearly those who continue to benefit from the processes we all know are destroying us. And clearly there are those at the point of a disaster who are immediately affected: people struggling in the Brazilian rain forest; along the banks of the Ohio, at the water's edge in the North West....

But I think what the Green movement does not understand is that it is the people in our inner cities—the poorest and most dispossessed—who on a day to day basis are suffering most from the environmental crisis. They live with the material and spiritual degradation of industrial culture. By this I don't just mean that our inner cities are the targets for toxic dumps, giant incinerators, poisoned land and water. Although all this is true. But on a deeper level, it is in our cities where we come face to face with the desecration of lives. People are irrelevant and useless. Here our culture makes clear how little it cares for people and place.

The Green movement, which has been able to deal with the reality of the crisis of the earth and nature, has been able to walk by the crisis in the daily lives of many of our people. Yet it is those at the bottom of our society who have historically brought a sense of urgency to struggles and who raise the questions that engage the whole society.

So the major strategic question facing the Greens is how to expand the Green movement so it reflects, incorporates and is imbued with the energy, creativity and urgency of those locked out?

see "Building" page 37

What special responsibility did the Detroit Greens have for Earth Day? How can we connect the devastation of our Earth with the devastation and destruction of our lives and communities?

To answer these questions, Detroit Greens went to a community based organization created by the mothers of children killed by violence in our city, Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD).

Earth Day in Detroit

Like many people around the country, after a lot of thought and discussion, we decided to plant trees. But we decided we would plant our trees in memory of all those who died by violence in our city in the last decade. This turned out to be 6,000 human beings, over 12% of whom were 16 years old or less.

We asked families, community groups, churches and schools to plant the trees in the spirit of pledging to make the decade of the 1990s one where we would reclaim and

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by violence.*



restore our relationships to one another and the earth. While planting went on all Earth Week, we decided to come together on Earth Day at Belle Isle, our major city park, for a program of fun, celebration of life and the planting of a memorial grove for our children. Over 500 people attended the afternoon affair of music, face painting, murals, sidewalk drawings, kite flying and tree planting. As Clementine Barfield, founder of SOSAD said, "This is a chance for us to get children more conscious of the importance of caring for the Earth. It's unfortunate, but for our children in Detroit, their only contact with the Earth is when they go to the cemetery to bury a friend who's been killed." As one youngster said while leaving Belle Isle with his seedling in hand, "I like it that they're trying to do something, instead of just talking about it. They're trying to show how our planet would be if it was all green and fresh air and no hole in the ozone layer. I don't want to live in a hole, where the sun might not come out and air is all gray."

The Detroit Greens also started a program of Guerilla Greening, or the unauthorized planting of trees to mark important areas in the city. Throughout Earth Week we planted trees at a house abandoned by Crack Dealers because of pressure from community marches, a church that declared the four blocks around it a violence free zone, a home where 6 people had been killed in a drug deal, a street where an artist has created a public gallery of abandoned homes, and by the world's largest incinerator which had been temporarily shut down in response to community pressure. The energy created through this activity was wonderful, perhaps best symbolized by the church choir who sang while we planted and named the tree "Hope."

Pulling Down the Barriers

Clay Carter

If you want to win your local environmental fight in a multi-racial community, it's essential to actively recruit and welcome people of color into your group. If grassroots environmentalists don't make integration a high priority of their movement, they will soon resemble traditional environmental organizations: homogeneous, single-issue and ineffective.

And polluting industries would like that very much.

Industry is often accused of trying to divide local environmental groups in order to make them less effective (see *Everyone's Back Yard*, Fall, '88, "Our Opponents' New Tricks"), but local groups may more effectively divide and conquer themselves if they remain predominantly white.

Think about it. If you were Waste Management Inc., GE, or an elected official and wanted to get your way in a multi-racial community, would you rather face an all-white group, or an organized force representing all races, cultures and economic classes in the community? CCHW has always promoted People Power and defines this as developing power for all people victimized by toxics. In the long run, what is the future of the Grassroots Movement for Environmental Justice if it isn't a broad-based, multi-racial movement? How much of a political force will it be?

Environmentalists realize the ecological crises that threaten us today are a result of lack of foresight. If we're going to have a genuine grassroots environmental justice movement, we're going to have to show some foresight, by actively working to overcome racial, cultural and economic obstacles, because environmental justice is more than just environment. Take the "IOU Quiz" and then let's look at ways to overcome the barriers to building a broad-based, multi-racial movement.

Barriers to Integrating the Environmental Movement

Barrier #1: "We can't find anybody."

This is the most common reason cited by both large, national environmental groups, as well as those at the grassroots level. It often comes with **Barrier #2**, "We can't find anybody *qualified* (for our staff, board, etc.)." These two barriers have much to do with whom the organization wants to find. Environmental organizations may be trying to find people of color who look exactly like they do—their social or professional counterparts. These groups are not likely to find these counterparts, nor should they. A broad-based movement benefits from having many different perspectives on the issues and these perspectives should be actively sought.

The real challenge is to reach out to people of vastly different backgrounds and welcome their participation even though it may be uncomfortable at first. Gwen Patton

white environmental groups can't do something like that."

Barrier #3: "We asked them, but they didn't come." **Barrier #4:** "We had somebody, but they didn't stay." **Barrier #5:** "We have many members who are people of color, but they never come to meetings." Try to look at the absence of people of color from their point of view. Are you holding meetings in places where they don't feel comfortable or, worse, in places that, historically, were segregated? Do people of color in your community have reasonable hopes of being able to participate as equals in your organization? Are your group's officers already picked? Has your group's priorities already been set? "A fundamental problem in grassroots environmental groups is that when they begin to organize, they don't hold their first meeting in an accessible place,"

says Hubert Dixon, Director of the Black Environmental Advancement Program. "Then a core group develops that does limited outreach. The people who are invited to join—after the fact—do not feel ownership in the group because they have no real role."

Often an environmental group will find one black (or brown or red) member for their board. Are they "covered?" Again, try to look at it from their point of view. People know when they're being used as a token and that's not a good feeling. You could even find that token participation is an even bigger barrier than no participation at all, because of the defensiveness it triggers within the group and resentment it creates in the community. Further, a savvy opponent could size up and exploit a situation where your group composition doesn't reflect the make up of the community and use it to divide and conquer.

Barrier #6: "People of color aren't concerned about environmental issues." **Barrier #7:** "All they want to talk about is



of the Southern Rainbow Educational Project addresses the need for genuine outreach on the part of environmental groups, "In the South during the Civil Rights Movement, many meetings were held in black churches, which were not places where white people were ordinarily inclined to go. But we wanted white people to be involved. So we paired black individuals with white individuals and black families with white families. The black individuals and families were responsible for making sure that their partners got to the meetings and felt welcome. I don't see why

see "Pulling Down" page 38

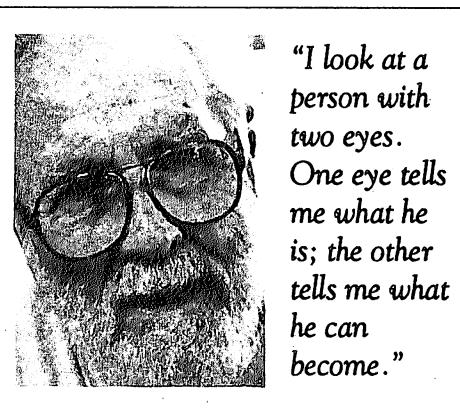
The Long Haul

Myles Horton (1905-1990), founded a school for organizers back in the thirties. Highlander Folk School (now Highlander Research and Education Center), was the first integrated institution in the south. Near the heartbeat of every progressive social change movement, from the unemployed, to labour, to the civil rights movement, Highlander quietly made history for over fifty years. The citizenship schools that became the bedrock of the civil rights movement were initiated there. For the past fifteen years they have been empowering people to struggle against clear-cutting and toxic dumps in their communities. Rosa Parks, Bernice Johnson Reagan, Pete Seeger, Martin Luther King, Jr., are only a few of the more famous who learned and taught at Highlander.

We are grateful that Judith and Herbert Kohl were able to put Myles Horton's voice in print before he died earlier this year. *The Long Haul: An Autobiography*, by Myles Horton with Judith Kohl and Herbert Kohl, newly released by Doubleday, is a treasurehouse of lessons for any organizer.

Following are brief excerpts from Horton's thinking.

- I still thought that if you believe in



"I look at a person with two eyes. One eye tells me what he is; the other tells me what he can become."

something, you do it, but I was beginning to understand that anything worth doing had to be done with other people, and to do it with other people you had to understand the social and economic forces.

- I came to realize that things had to be done through organizations. I knew that

people as individuals would remain powerless, but if they could get together in organizations, they could have power, provided they used their organizations instead of being used by them.

• Therefore, you can't have each individual go her or his own way and work separately. The people you deal with have to work with you in the name of a group, not for their own personal reasons. It was clear that you had to work with a union, a commune, a cooperative or a community organization; any kind of cohesive group that had a particular aim compatible with the philosophy of creating some form of democratic society.

• Clearly they had to learn to value their own experience, to analyze their own experience and to know how to make decisions.... It also became clear that there had to be a place where people could learn how to make decisions by actually making real decisions. That's how you learn anything—by doing it.

- Highlander's program was a social

see "Myles Horton" page 39

Toward a Green Ecology of Communication

Christa Daryl Slaton, Auburn Alabama Greens

I found the Eugene, Oregon SPAKA Conference to be a rewarding experience—stimulating and exciting in a multitude of ways. While it also provided me with some frustration and plenty of exhaustion, it increased my passion for and dedication to help develop the Green Movement.

What has inspired me from the start of my involvement with the Greens is the sincere commitment of most Greens to be true to our ten key values. As we struggle to achieve these ideals, we tend to be extremely self critical. It is this evaluative approach to growing that turns our failures into positive lessons and helps keep us on course. It also distinguishes us from other political groups or parties who spout rhetoric mainly for the achievement of power or personal gain.

In the reflective mode that led up to the

SPAKA conference (as well as during), it was frequently asked how we Greens could expand beyond our predominantly Caucasian, middle class composition. Throughout the conference it occurred to me that our style of communication greatly contributes to the relative homogeneity of the American Greens. Our norm is to intellectualize. We quibble frequently over semantics. We express our deepest feelings, our pain, and our compassion—but in a stream of multiple-syllable words that detach us from the feelings we are trying to express. We most often speak with our heads, rarely with our hearts.

What we need is to develop an ecology (balance and wholeness) of interaction, give and take, listening and talking. It is important that we communicate without being ruled by our emotions. Of course, it is also

wise to clarify and make important distinctions. It is helpful to read, study, and develop theory and action jointly for an effective Green praxis. The problem, however, is the overemphasis on the intellectual, the rational, the abstract. We need to establish more of an equilibrium, with a deeper grounding in life experience, tapping our intuitions, and expressing our sentiments. Moreover, we need to reach out to those who can help us develop a productive Green ecology of communication.

We did attempt to reach out at the SPAKA conference, but there are signs that we did not take advantage of available opportunities. On the way home, I listened to someone we had invited to attend the

see "Green Ecology" page 40

Ideological purity...
or respect for cultural diversity?

Food and Politics

Rick Whaley
Milwaukee Greens

In the days of slavery, African Americans were never given the choicest of food for their families' survival. The best cuts of meat and freshest fruits and vegetables and the exotic imports always went to the masters' house. The leftovers and the un-used went to the slave quarters. African-Americans made a culinary art out of the least they were given: Chitlins, pigsfeet, chicken wings and the salt pork and spices that make greens "green." These are still eaten and enjoyed by many today—"black folks' food" vs. that white folks' food you get at conferences.

Chippewa spearfishing in Wisconsin begins with an early Spring water ceremony and offering to the lakes, and the first night's harvest goes to the elders on the reservation. Spearfishers have to go through a wall of protesters' taunts just to get to the boatlandings: "Timber niggers," "Spear a pregnant squaw," and even "Rape our women, not our walleyes." Spearmen also risked their lives as pipe bombs, gun shots on the lakes, and rocks fired from wrist rockets were all part of their treatment at the hands of anti-treaty protesters in 1989. All this is endured so the Chippewa can feed their families and the many supporters who come north each Spring to witness on behalf of non-violence and these harvesting rights left by Chippewa ancestors in the treaties.

This is much like the women elders at Big Mountain who risk their lives to protect the land and sheep herds from the forced relocation and "livestock reduction" assaults of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and U.S. government. To feed and honor the supporters who come to Big Mountain, these elders have been known to kill one of their precious sheep and thus share what they have. It is a deep insult, on the land in Arizona or in the woods of northern Wisconsin, to refuse the food a host has offered their guest/supporters.

I begin this way in order to argue for

creating a climate of acceptance for the truly diverse cultures that the Northern American Bioregional Congress (NABC) and the Greens are seeking to include in their upcoming gatherings. I would like to focus here on the question of whether to serve meat at gatherings, although a climate of acceptance would include many other things—lodging that accommodates many ages and expectations, entertainments and useful work roles that do the same, and good processes for dialoguing and conflict resolution.

There are many aspects to the question of serving meat and, perhaps, other kinds of food, too, at our gatherings. But one critical part of the question is: who are we trying to bring to our congresses/conventions and who are we excluding, consciously or not.

Respecting a variety of food choices (healthful choices, broadly defined), involves more than just tol-

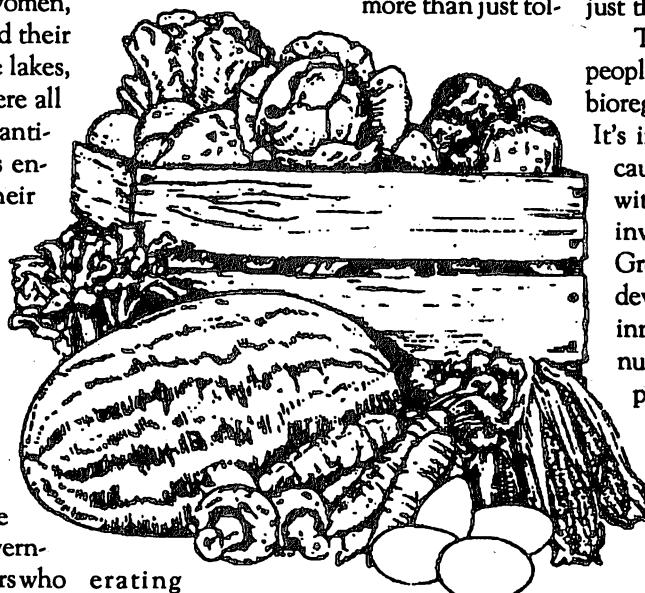
Secondly, it involves understanding cultural differences that have not only come from Europe, Africa, Asia and more southern Americas, but those that have grown up over the generations in our particular places on this continent, especially rural and farming traditions (e.g., Wendell Berry's Port William's families or his sharp arguments against agri-business). How often have we excluded sustainable-agriculture farmers from our late summer and fall gatherings just because of the time of year we choose (that farmers can't make). Let's not also exclude their voice on the role of animals in organic farming and right eating.

Thirdly, I would argue, we need to trust that as we involve more and more people of color in our bioregional and Green gatherings, we will learn many contradictions and answers that we don't know now, and not just those about food.

The involvement and leadership of the people of color is critical to the Green and bioregional movements at this point in time. It's important strategically, of course, because a successful movement can't be built without an anti-racist perspective and involvement of people of color. You can't Green the cities unless you deal with the devastation, social and physical, of the innercities. You can't stop uranium-based nuclear power or the worst groundwater pollution unless you understand that

Native American land and treaty rights are the immediate front line against the U.S. Dept. of Energy's notion of "national sacrifice areas" and expanded hard energy development.

More important is the spiritual and cultural-political contributions Native- and African-American cultures have made historically and will make to the burgeoning Green and bioregional movements. The ecological wisdom of the Native American traditional cultures and the support for their current land and justice struggles is fairly well established in Green circles. The eco-



erating different cultural and individual decisions. First, it involves understanding the deep differences between the trophy hunter-fisher tradition and the harvesting tradition, especially of Native Americans (be it walleye in Wisconsin, salmon in the Northwest, or sheep in the Southwest).

logical wisdom in African-American history is fairly invisible in Green circles and its absence usually leads us to the trap of "what we have to teach them." From the land-based skills that came from Africa, African-Americans built the wealth of a nation that allowed European-Americans to prosper. The agricultural discoveries of George Washington Carver, the work-song tradition, and the urban gardening of today, especially among African-Americans only a generation or two removed from the South, all testify to the cultural-ecological legacy of African Americans.

Like the writings of Charlene Spretnak, Alice Walker's work is much about the spiritual dimensions of her people's politics as it is about contemporary feminism. The call to ancestors, the reappearance of spirits that haunt as well as those that heal, the beauty of lost roots rediscovered, these are as prevalent in the renaissance of African-American women writers (Walker, Toni Morrison, Paule Marshall...) as in the stories of Native artists and activists.

The ethical-political legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement is at least as profound as Gandhi's contribution to the Green principle and practice of non-violence. And who has more to teach the Green and bioregional movements about the connections of racism and sexism or about community and self-defense than those peoples who have been dealing with these issues for generations?

Though it may appear insignificant, the food we serve at congresses/conferences is an important cultural decision, and one that will help decide whether people of color will commit to the Green side of the new social movement. Do we ban meat or do we offer options for individuals and different cultural groups? What options do we have for those who eat only white meat (chicken, fish)? For stricter vegetarians?

These questions become very real now that NABC has made a commitment to bring inner city, young adult activists to our congress, and as NABC strives to achieve its goal of one third involvement of people of color. This food question becomes very real as planners decide how to feed the next National Green Gathering in Denver in Fall, 90.

Connections not ideological differences

I think we as Greens and bioregionalists will further and strengthen our movements if we look for the connections not the ideological differences.

1. The struggle against the Bovine Growth Hormone (BGH) in Wisconsin united small farmers and animal rights-ers, as well as citizen action groups, Greens and others. Wisconsin has become the first state in the union to ban (at least temporarily) the

tion of food. What the role of animals in sustainable agriculture is, will be determined by farmers first, then consumers. What is sustainability to urban and rural peoples?

4. How to convert the unconverted: What would Alice Walker's advice be on the best process for reaching her people and a general public on the animal rights position? Instead of insulting everyone equally on the way to the chicken barbecue, why not fundraise and get Dick Gregory to the biore-



chemical agri-business wonder drug- harmful to the health of dairy cows and probably humans, and harmful to the financial health of small scale farmers. Farmers who raise cows for meat and animal rights activists, whatever their food choices and livelihoods, can sit at the same table and break bread together.

2. If Greens can agree to ten out of twelve points on the animal rights agenda (as in the agenda we've seen in Wisconsin), why not work together on one or more of the ten, instead of making breaks on the two we disagree on. There are many points of unity, even with carnivorous Greens, but too few organizing successes. What about stopping dog racing and horse racing in Wisconsin before it starts? Ending research on animals? Boycotting, then halting feed-lot cattle raising and factory chicken farming? Getting Icelandic cod off of public school menus until Iceland stops killing whales? What about saving whole species that are threatened?

3. Let's not narrow the constituencies we work with. We need everyone who'll dialogue and listen and wants to build a broad based and effective movement. Don't narrow or close out the debate on the ques-

gional congress or Green gathering? This way African-Americans can hear the ideas from someone who they respect and who respects them.

There is a grave danger that the movement will become European-American only and only non-farm, non-wilderness based. Greens will then become the media image of Greens- white, middle-class environmentalists. There is also the danger that the animal rights movement will become separate from the Greens, that it be cast (or cast itself) out of the blossoming Green/bioregional formations. Animal rights will then become the media's "fringe Group" image of animal rights.

I would argue a value-conservative Green position: lead by example not confrontation, and respect the individual and cultural choices others make. The involvement of people of color, of farmers both organic and "modern" and of many diverse constituencies, is critical to our politics. Let's strive for a conviviality at our gatherings' feasts that lends itself to good memories and to the larger tasks at hand.

[Rick Whaley lives in the Milwaukee River Watershed]

After Earth Day

Brian Tokar

The twentieth anniversary of Earth Day brought a dramatic new awareness of Green lifestyles and Green ideas, along with new models of Green coalitions and movement-building. For many of us, the pinnacle of this effort was the inspiring and impressively broad-based demonstration at the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street the Monday following Earth Day itself.

The Wall Street Action was, as many readers are aware, quite controversial within the Green movement. In the end, Green locals and regions from New England to Florida, and westward to Wisconsin, Oregon, and San Diego, signed on in support of the action, joining a coalition of over 70 different organizations nationwide. Major national groups like the National Toxics Campaign, War Resisters League, Mobilization for Survival and the Student Action Union gave their support and organizing assistance. So did antinuclear activists like the Clamshell Alliance, Seeds of Peace and Food Not Bombs, anti-toxics groups like Vermonters Organized for Cleanup, the Love Canal Homeowners Association and the Bhopal Action Resource Center, student organizations from New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Vermont, Ohio and Oregon, anti-intervention groups like EPOCA and the local New York area Nicaragua Solidarity Network, the anti-AIDS action group ACT-UP, the Amis/ies de la Terre of Quebec, peace groups, ecofeminists, bioregionalists, two large Earth First! chapters, socialists, anarchists, surrealists, radical lawyers, New York squatters, and many others. Youth Greens, Earth First!ers and others in the San Francisco Bay Area organized a sister action at the Pacific Stock Exchange the same day.

The day began early on April 23, before the light of dawn, as Affinity Groups gathered in the Wall Street area to position themselves for the opening of the Stock Exchange. The police presence was massive, with offic-

ers in riot gear and rows of police barricades along every street leading to the Exchange. It was like an armed camp, quite symbolic of the true nature of what goes on inside that fortress-like structure. Demonstrators were in motion for most of the morning, forcing police to keep shifting their formations and creating new routes for Exchange workers to enter. On several occasions, broker-types faced off against crowds of demonstrators and had to be "rescued" by the police. Encounters were often heated, and sometimes surprising. There were few large-group arrests; rather many demonstrators were individually singled out for arrest during tense moments. Undercover and plainclothes police were an unusually large presence.

At noon time, with many Wall Street area workers listening attentively, we heard testimony from people whose lives and communities were impacted by the rapacious practices of corporations traded on the Street. We heard from victims of toxic chemical poisoning and veterans contaminated by Agent Orange in Vietnam. There was a statement from families of people killed and injured by Union Carbide's gas explosion in Bhopal, India, and from people in West Virginia who are routinely exposed to the same deadly chemicals. We heard from a

community activist in Harlem, where a famous black community center—the place where Malcolm X was assassinated—is threatened with demolition by Columbia University so they can build a new biotechnology complex. Greens from New Hampshire, where the Seabrook nuke has gone on line only because the owners got the government to suspend the rules, high school students from New Jersey who are organizing a nationwide boycott of McDonalds, an independent black activist from New York, and a bus driver active in the strike against Greyhound were also among the speakers.

The Wall Street Action was seen by all who participated as an important milestone in growth of ecological activism in this country. Nearly 2,000 people participated, including 204 who were arrested for blocking streets and otherwise tying up the works, but the political impact of the day greatly exceeded the numbers.

Juan Gonzalez, a columnist for the New York Daily News (circulation 1.2 million) captured the importance of the event under the headline, "Getting serious about ecology." He wrote, "After all, Earth Day is not just separating cans, paper and bottles, or worrying about the rain forests in Brazil, when all around us American companies keep decimating the only planet we call home." He concluded, "Certainly, those who sought to co-opt Earth Day into a media and marketing extravaganza, to make the public feel good while obscuring the corporate root of the Earth's pollution almost succeeded. It took angry Americans from places like Maine and Vermont to come to Wall Street on a workday and point the blame where it belongs."

The successes of Earth Day and the Wall Street Action bring the Green movement to an important crossroads. The changes in personal lifestyle and consumption patterns we



see "Earth Day" page 41

Running On Wall Street

Theresa Freeman

Earth Day 1990

At 5:30 a.m., with one cup of coffee, I found myself running with the people with purple hair. Some of them had parts of machines on their bodies as part of their clothes. Many had shaved heads, and generally, this was not my gang. Somehow, I made myself fit in because we were there for the purpose of shutting down Wall Street.

We were shocked to see the entire stock exchange surrounded with a wooden barrier, and surrounded again by police, arms locked. There were strange metal barriers that were set up like cattle troughs that scared me. There were armies of police on foot, and armies on horseback with plexiglass riot shields. There was no way we were going to actually block a doorway and prevent people from going into the stock exchange: the police had the entire area secured.

We moved up and down the street, forcing police lines back, and then they would force us back. This went on for two hours. We could hear the screams from the other corner, as many were being struck and arrests were being made. People were trying to get us up to join them, but we were separated by armies of police.

This was a young people's action. I felt like it was 1968 and looked at the young people, who were me and my gang, back then. I counted the people of my generation, and came up with five, including myself.

I was glad because I found myself in struggle with them, talking to them with intensity about what was happening. Then, it hit me—hey—I'm here talking to a pink-haired person, or a hairless person, it didn't matter. In struggle, I was able to get over ageism, classism, and racism and be one with them. It taught me the age-old lesson that people learn best when they act together.

For all the hoopla about how they looked, these young people are committed to deep social and economic change. They took responsibility for their principles that day. I see them making changes. They are changing their lifestyle, going without the American dream of owning all they see. They said things are going to change. I believe them.

I just ask that in future actions, organizers provide for others to perform CD and get arrested en masse. There are plenty of people who can't or don't want to run from police,

but who will sit with arms locked and block intersections, or shout support to the people doing the blocking. There should be a place for everyone to participate.

All in all, it was a great day. I met many young folks who renewed my vitality and commitment to change, and am honored to

have run with the people with the purple hair. They are standing very tall and casting very large shadows.

I'd say the youth are on the move again. After all, they are us, 20 years ago. It would be nice if we could join them now.



Berkeley Greens built model nuke reactor to protest local energy corporation's sponsorship of Earth Day

Solidarity Wins Again

April 23, 1990, The Day after Earth Day, saw demonstrations against corporate ecocide on Wall Street in New York and at the Pacific Stock Exchange in San Francisco.

As a result of the San Francisco demonstration, some 49 people were charged with misdemeanors. In the week prior to arraignment, some of the charges were dropped, and many of the others were reduced to infractions, but when we went to court for the arraignment there were still about 37 of us with charges: 8 misdemeanors and 29 infractions.

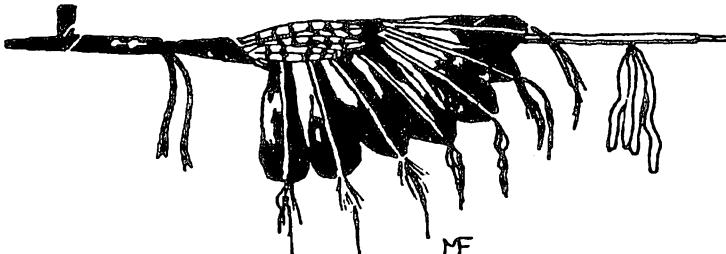
The infractions were roughly the equivalent of jaywalking; demonstrators could plead no contest and do ten hours of community service. People charged with misdemeanors, if convicted, would have to pay some fine and do many more hours of community service as well as getting a misdemeanor on their record.

Our lawyer (pro bono from the National Lawyers Guild Demonstrations Committee) went in to negotiate with the District Attorney with the following offer: we would all plead not guilty (meaning the state would have to deal with us in the court system), unless all of the misdemeanors were reduced to infractions. Furthermore, those people charged with infractions agreed that if the misdemeanors were reduced, we would all agree to do 15 hours instead of 10 of community service. The D.A. agreed!

What's more, instead of going through the official "diversion" program, meaning we'd have to work for a non-profit group on their approved list, we got permission to work for any legitimate non-profit organization. Some of the organizations people might work for include Environmental Project on Central America, Earth First! and Green Letter.

So thanks to the solidarity of all the demonstrators who were charged, nobody was convicted of any serious crime, and all of the resources stay in the activist community. It just shows what we can do when we stick together. As the saying goes: "The people united will never be defeated."

Blair Sandler



Native American Struggles

Leonard Peltier Update

Chippewa Conclude Successful Spearfishing Season

Chippewa treaty rights have survived another round of assault in Wisconsin. And nonviolent activism has solidified the multi-racial, Native rights alliance here and helped bring peace to many of the boatlandings where the Chippewa spearfish every spring. The Witness for Nonviolence and the Midwest Treaty Network spent the Winter of 89-90 training over 1000 people, region-wide, in nonviolent activism/witnessing.

For most of the two-week spearing harvest, nonviolent witnesses and treaty supporters equalled or outnumbered protesters at the spearing sites. Promises by protest leaders to stage a big mass arrest, for the media and "to signal Congress," failed to materialize until late in the season. Behavior of the protesters (last year and this) and the strong alliance-building of the pro-treaty movement has isolated the anti-treaty hate groups from most politicians, press, and business people in Wisconsin.

The goals for us in the Witness/Treaty network remain the same: (1) breaking the support state politicians still lend to the overall *political agenda* of the racist groups, (2) no buyout or "lease" of treaty rights, at the state level, and no "modification" of treaties with Native American nations, at the federal level, (3) protecting the water and human communities from the ravages of mining, (4) cleaning up the mercury/PCB-poisoned lakes and making the ceded territory a toxic-free zone, and (5) expanding the political base and influence of the Chippewa, Greens and pro-treaty/non-violence activists in Wisconsin.

For more information, contact the Witness for Nonviolence/Midwest Treaty Network, 2920 W. State St, Milwaukee, WI 53208. By fall 1990, a copy of the Boatlanding Witness/Nonviolent Training Manual will be available (\$20 donation).

Sarah Backus

June 26, 1990 was an International Day to resist the Imprisonment of Leonard Peltier. Peltier is an Anishinabe-Lakota indigenous man and a leader of the American Indian Movement. He has served 14 years in prison, framed on false murder charges, and is serving two consecutive life sentences, denying him any chance for parole. Although Hawaii Senator Daniel Inouye has agreed to appeal to President Bush for a pardon for Peltier, only a gigantic show of support from those who understand the terrible injustice of the case can make this wish come true.

"Nelson Mandela was released this year in South Africa," write Peltier's supporters.

"It is time for the United States to do the same and release its political prisoners. Please join us in demanding freedom for Leonard Peltier."

Letters of support for a presidential pardon for Leonard Peltier may be addressed to: Senator Daniel Inouye 722 H Senate Office Building Washington D.C. 20510.

Write to the IITC for petitions to circulate in support of Peltier. IITC will then send them to Inouye. 710 Clayton St. #1 San Francisco CA 94117 (415) 566-0251

For more information, write the Bay Area Leonard Peltier Alliance, 370 Turk St #14, San Francisco CA 94102, (415) 566-0251.

Redwood Summer and the Bombing Attack

Just before noon on Thursday, May 24, a bomb exploded in the car driven by Redwood Summer organizers Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney. The two had strongly stressed the importance of nonviolence as they toured California to promote the summer of action. The police and FBI immediately concluded that Cherney and Bari had been transporting the bomb, and used the excuse illegally to search homes and offices of environmentalists. Bari, who suffered a broken pelvis, abdominal and facial injuries, was under guard in the intensive care unit at Highland Hospital. Cherney, also injured in the blast, was held for several days in the Oakland Jail, subjected to all-night interrogation and denied access to a lawyer. Many other peoples' civil rights were violated as the police and FBI turned an attempted murder into an opportunity to harass and discredit the victims and the environmental movement.

Police continue to pressure the district attorney to charge Bari and Cherney, but as of mid-June, no charges had been filed.

Redwood Summer is a last-ditch attempt to save the last stands of old-growth redwood in the world. Ninety-five percent of the forests have been

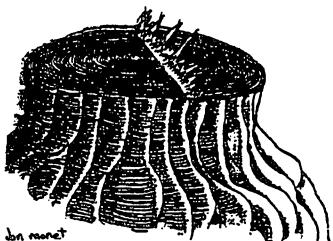
logged, and now that the Forests Forever Initiative [See *Green Letter*, spring 1990] has made it onto the California ballot for November, the timber industry is working at breakneck speed. This summer is critical for the fate of this ancient ecosystem.

Redwood Summer will include several major and dozens of smaller nonviolent direct actions, from June 1 to August 31. Although many participants plan on being arrested, a lot of other activities don't involve arrest. All participants are required to undergo a nonviolence training that will also educate them about the people and environment of the region.

Donations of money, food, and other supplies are needed for Redwood Summer. You can contact Redwood Summer by calling or writing: Earth First! PO Box 411233, San Francisco CA 94141, (415) 824-3841.

Donations to the "Bari and Cherney Trust Fund" can be sent to 106 West Standley St, Ukiah, CA 95482.

Edited from *Redwood Summer pamphlet*



Building a Green Party

The Democratic and Republican parties have defined state and national electoral politics for over a century. In this time, there has been no sustained "third party" electoral movement in the U.S. On March 2, 1990, California Greens officially registered the Green Party, and have begun collecting the required signatures to place the party on the ballot.

The attempt to launch an electoral Green Party has stirred vigorous debate among California Greens. The following articles, by Kent Smith, Sue Nelson, Carl Boggs, Mike Feinstein and Bob Long, debate critical questions concerning the relation of electoral and grassroots organizing, democratic process and accountability. With efforts at Green Party organizing beginning at the national level, Green Letter feels that the California Green debate is of critical importance to all Greens.

The Green Party Takes Off

Kent Smith

On February 4, 1990, Green activists from across the state met in Sacramento to launch a new political party: the Green Party of California.

Inspired by the increasingly successful Green parties in Europe, the Green Party stands resolutely for Ecological Wisdom, Social Justice, Nonviolence, and Grassroots Democracy.

On March 2, the California Secretary of State recognized the Green Party as a political body intent on qualifying for the California state ballot by 1992. The Green Party needs some 80,000 registered voters—which would make it the first new political party in California in decades.

A statewide network of Green Party contacts and groups has already been set up in 24 California counties (which comprise 75% of registered voters.)

Earth Day 1990 provided a floodtide of environmental consciousness. More than twenty groups of Greens launched membership drives during Earth Week. Efforts in San Diego, Santa Barbara, Humboldt, Berkeley and Santa Cruz were outstanding. During this period, the number of registered Greens tripled, from 1000 to 3000.

There has been a dramatic jump in interest from the news media since the formation of the Green Party. Journalists are finding Green politics refreshing and provocative in comparison to the bleak landscape of conventional politics. Six official spokespersons were empowered by a statewide Media Working Group to speak for the Green Party.

Policy-making in Sacramento will now be influenced by Green values and ideas. There is a Green-lobbying Working Group which is now building connections with



Green lobbyists in Sacramento.

Green groups will take an active part in the 1990 elections, presenting election forums, evaluating candidates and initiatives, and publicizing endorsements. Greens are particularly intent on differentiating the authentic environmental politicians from those who merely call themselves such, by reviewing their voting records.

There is consideration of holding a convention next fall to invite all major candidates involved in the November election. The Green Party is convinced candidates can be moved to much more explicit and substantial environmental and social justice positions. The first convention could be a major milestone, and make an indelible mark on the political consciousness of our state.

Edited from an article in *Insight*, the California Green Party newsletter, 2034-3rd St, Santa Monica CA 90405.

The Instant State Green Party

Sue Nelson

When the sixty non-representative well meaning people meeting in Sacramento decided to become a State Party without convention or rules, they threw out the ten key values. How can we speak of non hierarchical, decentralized, post patriarchal values, community economics, grassroots democracy and ecological wisdom in the face of a legal state party formulation which guarantees control and movement building from the top?

A party structure which relies upon individualistic actions sends shivers of concern to those of us seeking a green alternative to the centralized corporate power surrounding us. How can we create grassroots democracy and municipie confederation out of such weak understanding of green process. Challenging the present Democrat/Republican dominance requires more than envisioning a green future by new age interest groups with mailing lists, it requires a movement base of diverse people collectively making decisions based upon a clear understanding of the contradictions in the political and economic realities of our time.

We have the beginnings of democracy in the Committees of Correspondence. These have a potential for launching local green candidates in the community and in the workplace without the need for a rigid formal top down legal structure, or for a large budget. Through our small groups we can, with limited budgets, pressure existing public officials on issues of concern, we can develop a municipie focus linking issues and building decentralized grassroots democracy. We can create a responsible politicized com-

see "Instant Green Party" -page 41

Why the California Greens Should Wait to Have a Party

Carl Boggs

Recent efforts by a small group of California Greens to set up a statewide political party can only lead to disastrous results, not only for our long-term success but for the internal life of our movement. This strategy, poorly conceived and hardly even debated within the COCs, is bound to be divisive and self-defeating for a very young Green movement committed to a new type of politics. Unless momentum towards a statewide party is reversed soon, we may face a dismal future. Coming at a time when interest in ecological issues is building rapidly, when the potential for growth of local Green organizations is greater than ever, the decision to create a narrow, white, socially insular shell of a party with no popular base can only be the reflection of a political death-wish. While the pro-party faction claims to be advancing the Green political agenda, the reality is that they're pulling us backwards on several levels—in our local community work, our alliance-building, our efforts to achieve social and cultural diversity, our grassroots electoral campaigns, and (sadly) our internal democratic process.

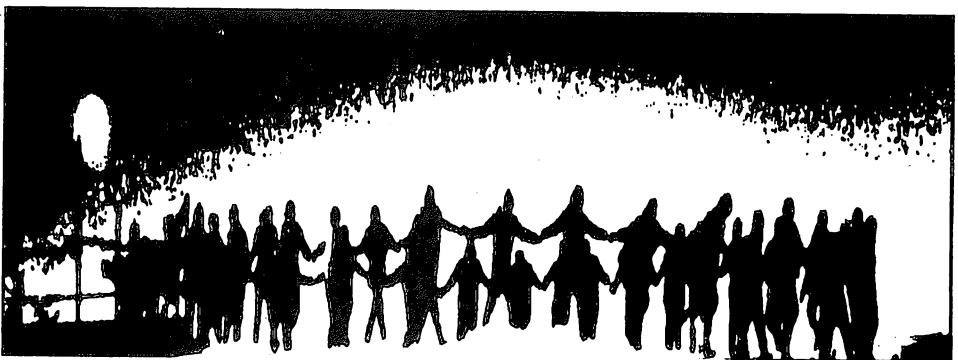
Since we in the Westside Greens, as in many other COCs, have never even discussed or debated the question of having a state party now, the urgency of taking up this question—especially in the aftermath of the stormy statewide meeting on March 24-25th—cannot be ignored. Among the concerns that we should address are the following:

1. The process whereby the party mechanism has been pushed along is anti-democratic, based on relatively little input from the general membership. There have been three statewide meetings, attended by a very small delegation with respect to all of the Southern California COCs; on none of these occasions did the Westside Greens have any discussion of the upcoming meetings, and only once (at the L.A. meeting) was there opportunity for input in terms of the diversity of views that characterize our chapter—and that meeting reflected intense and widespread dissension from the state-

party idea. Given the significance of setting up a statewide party, the need for a thorough-going sharing of information, exchange of views, and effort to reach a consensus is not debatable. Whatever the reasons for this (it was never even placed on the agenda), the fact that important statewide decisions would be made without any input from local groups is a clear departure from even minimal standards of democratic process—not to mention Green consensual process. A sur-

vey of other regional COCs reveals that the situation was roughly the same. (Members of at least one COC, the Sunset Greens, did not even receive notice of the L.A. meeting.) The result is that many Greens have been effectively disenfranchised concerning this process—not a happy situation for a movement that prides itself on its commitment to grassroots democracy.

see "Wait" page 42



A Strategic Argument for the Formation of the Green Party of California

Mike Feinstein

A response to Carl Boggs' "Why the California Greens Should Wait to Have a Party"

That a Green party needs to be the political expression of a holistic grassroots and value-based movement is fundamental and undeniable.

One concern often raised about the Green Party of California is that at this time the GCoC movement is not broadly enough based to begin statewide political parties. This is true. Like most of the environmental groups criticized earlier this year by the NAACP, the GCoC is not substantially diverse, culturally or ethnically.

However, the GCoC movement is not the entire green movement, but only a small portion of it. Grassroots work has been done by numerous community groups and indi-

viduals across the country. To assume that a Green party is not justified because most of these groups and individuals are not integrated into the GCoC either officially or through coalition misses the point about what really would constitute a Green party base.

The GCoC will be neither the social nor political culmination of all those who share and practice the GCoC's *Ten Key Values*. The GCoC is an activist organization. It will gain members. It will grow into other communities. It will build coalitions with other groups and individuals. It will play an essential role as a catalyst for green values. But it will not be the umbrella activist organization even though its philosophy appears

see "Strategic Argument" page 43

A response to Carl Boggs:

Why the California Greens Should Not Wait to Have a Party

Bob Long

I feel that Carl Boggs' paper contains valid material and at the same time makes a number of points which are quite questionable and some that are completely wrong. It is true that our CoCs need basic functional organizational structure and facilities. But the conclusion that "One debilitating result of a statewide party would be the draining of resources away from the local CoCs." would not necessarily follow. Might it just as well add resources by engaging the cooperation and participation of additional people who would be inspired and motivated by electoral activity beyond the local level? Electoral activity should be considered as another way of attracting interest and of carrying on our basic educational work.

One of Carl's theses is that local electoral activity is permissible but we are not yet ready for statewide party work. But according to his contention, would not such local campaigning also have the disadvantage of detracting from building local CoCs? I think community electioneering could well put much more of a strain on the locals than elections at the state level. In the case of the latter there would be many people throughout the entire state who would be working together and thus making the burden lighter on individuals and locals. One platform would service the entire state but each local election would be required to draft one specifically for every election that is entered.

What the Green movement alone can do is to give a far-ranging critique and understanding to the social, economic, environmental and political questions that beset us

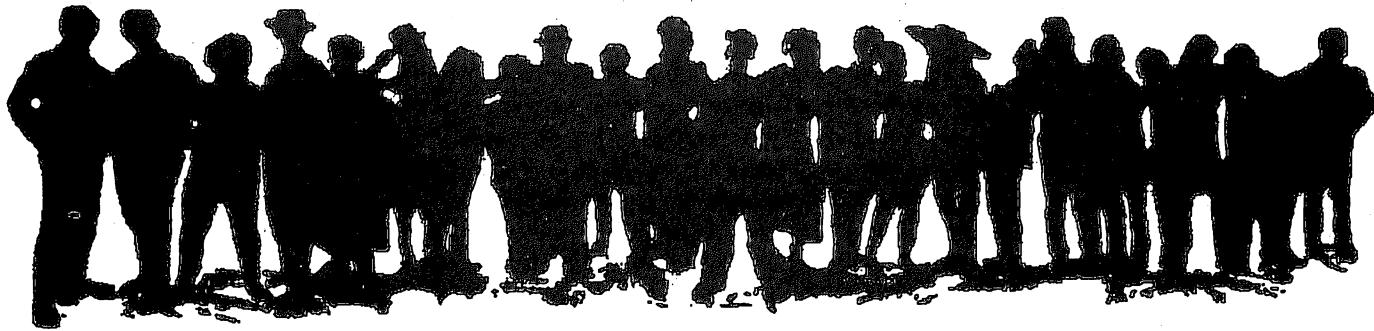
locally, statewide, nationally and internationally. *One should always remember that our participation in elections should be primarily a matter of education of the public rather than being elected to office.* As long as we do basic educational work, we will have accomplished our goal regardless of the actual vote. It would be dreaming at this stage in developing the USA Green Movement and considering the tremendous resources that will be thrown against us by the up-holders of the status quo to expect that we will actually attain a high elective office except in a set of most unusual circumstances. We should make this plain to all our supporters.

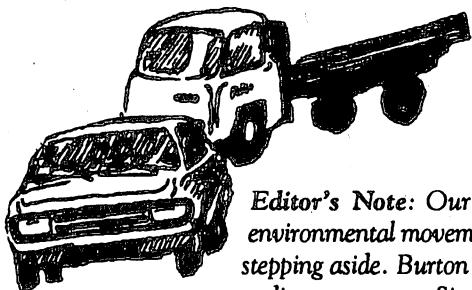
Carl charges that the Greens who are engaged in initiating a state party have somehow or other violated the principle of grassroots democracy. Mistakes have been made. The March 24 and 25 meeting in Los Angeles was announced as a meeting of the California Green Assembly with the implications that it was a body constituted by the GCoCs. Actually its purpose seemed in the attitude of many to be furthering the Green Party of California organizing efforts rather than setting up a state structure for the CoCs. If that was to be its function, it should have been clearly stated in the call for the meeting. A very serious misconception was prevalent at the meeting: that the Green Party of California would belong to the GCoC organization because a GCoC member registered the name with the Secretary of State.

Actually it will belong collectively to the people who register as Green Party members. GCoC policies will prevail only if we do a better job of educating registrants as to the validity of our approach. As an official party the Green Party will have to adhere to the state laws for such an activity. If the Siloists register in greater numbers than those who agree with the GCoCs, they can prevail at the primary conventions and dictate the platform.

In my opinion there is absolutely nothing wrong with any individual or group of individuals initiating a particular Green activity or approach. If there are those who disagree with a particular action, there are plenty of other worthwhile activities that they can pursue. There is still ample opportunity for CoCs and individual CoC members to decide as to what extent they want to participate in the Green Party. If they feel that a state party is unwise, they have every right to try to convince others by reasoned argument. However, they cannot mandate that others follow their recommendations.

It is perfectly proper to bring out any pitfalls that might be encountered in electoral work. One upon which I feel strongly is that it might well promote a star system in which a particularly talented individual might be able to exert a disproportionate influence on the party and movement. In summary, let us make our diversity a strength rather than a destructive force.





The Automotive Column

Charles Varon

Editor's Note: Our search for a new automotive editor continues. However, in order to reflect the diversity of the environmental movement, there will be a change in the composition of the search committee, with three of the four members stepping aside. Burton Waggleford-Parnassus, Chandra Eagleflight, and U.G. Day-Persimmon will make room for other, more diverse persons. Simone Alkali will stay on.

Those who are interested in serving on the search committee should send a letter and résumé to Simone in care of the Green Letter. Ideally, the new members of the search committee will be selected within a few months, after which time the search for an automotive editor will resume.

For this issue's column, we again turn to Charles Varon, a man who recently received a \$2,000 insurance payment to cover repairs stemming from an accident which was clearly the other driver's fault.

Question: My 15-year-old son can't wait to get his driver's license. I'd rather he not get "hooked" on cars so young. But when I try to reason with him, mentioning the number of lives lost in accidents and the ecological damage cars do, he says either "But you drive" or simply "Aw mom!" I have explained many times that I drive not because I want to but because I *have* to, in order to get to work, to the food co-op, to Green meetings. Yesterday, when I told him this, he suggested I simplify my life, stop driving, and turn the car over to him. Can you offer me advice on how to deal with this situation? I recently read about a group of young people in the Midwest who made an Earth Day pledge never to own or drive automobiles. Is it possible for parents to sign their kids up for this?

Response: Your frustration is not uncommon. According to Green developmental psychologist Jasmine Chevy-Duchamp, automotive conflict is "the most palpable stressor in the ecologically-minded family. Confronted by their parents' misgivings about cars, children must struggle to integrate that awareness with the largely car-positive messages in the media and the society at large. Many naturally rebel." This point is demonstrated by statistics from Chevy-Duchamp's landmark study *Attitude and Value Transmission Between 612 American Environmentalists and Their Adolescent Children* (see Fig. 1).

Among adolescents who do not rebel, Chevy-Duchamp found a curious phenomenon: some actually attempt to outdo their parents' disaffection for the automobile. It is into this category that Chevy-Duchamp places the Midwestern teenagers who have sworn off cars. "These are kids," she said,

"from families that have solarized their homes, that have switched to a vegetarian diet, that are religious about recycling, and that use only nonlethal flyswatters. Essentially, the parents have painted the kids into an ethical corner."

For a second opinion, we spoke with Austin-based Virgil Trilobite-McAfee, an eco-psychologist who openly champions the

toward the transformation of a toxic society are doubly threatening. Those young men and women who have turned their backs on their birthright—two and a half tons of sheet metal and glass—are distinguished more by their vision and courage than by their adolescence. They deserve to be unsung heroes."

Our final telephone call on this ques-

Table 11.3 Teenage Children of Single-Car Households

	Families w / 2-door Cars	Families w / 4-door Cars	Families with Hatchbacks
My parents have expressed guilt about driving for pleasure.	68%	76%	73 %
My parents compulsively calculate the number of miles per gallon they are getting.	70	83	67
My first experience at a gas station fill-up was a positive one.	81	88	90
I have had dreams and/or fantasies about owning more than one car.	91	86	87
TOTAL	310%	333 %	317%

Figure 1

cause of the non-driving teenagers. In his unpublished essay "Choosing Carlessness: The Path from Teenager to Greenager," Trilobite-McAfee writes: "Why do Americans fear adolescence? Because it's a cauldron of emotional turbulence, a window into the madness to which all flesh is heir.... Youths who channel this untamed energy

tion, and our longest, was with Calvin Napoleon-Waterloo, anthropologist-in-residence at the Integral Strategy Institute in Washington, DC. "The teenagers' action," he said, "is deeply rooted in American culture. From the Puritans to Prohibition, from dieting to the war on drugs, Americans have sought purification through self-denial. What makes

this car taboo so fascinating is that it weaves the puritanical strand together with a Thoreauvian quest for simple living."

However noble the teenagers' gesture, Napoleon-Waterloo believes that as a strategy for change it is fundamentally flawed. "Social change is the art of working with the culture," he explained. "You don't spit on the Buddha. You don't desecrate McDonald's. And"—here Napoleon-Waterloo paused—"you don't defame the automobile.

"At my workshops, I try to help activists experience the power of the myths and symbols that are central to American culture. I give each participant fifty flyers [see reproduction] which they must hand out on a busy streetcorner. Their resistance is formidable; some simply cannot bring

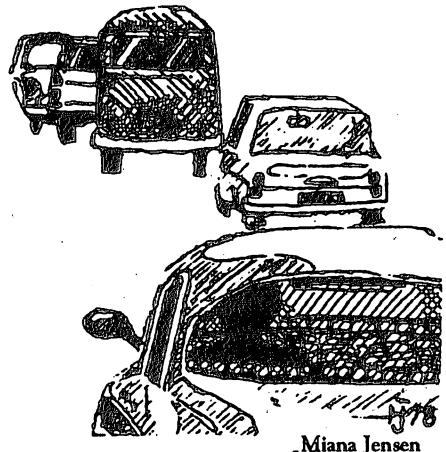
themselves to do it. But those who do, are changed forever."

Rather than abandon the automobile, Napoleon-Waterloo said, the trick is to rediscover and reclaim it. In his book *Midwives of the New America*, he describes one such effort, a ritual created by members of a rural commune in Northern California:

"On the eve of the spring equinox, they gather on a hillside, forming a circle. Around sunset someone begins to drum. A fire is lit. Songs of thanksgiving and yearning are sung. A ceremonial bride and groom are carried aloft and then placed inside a 1985 Saab that stands at the center of the circle. As the couple makes love inside, outside there is

chanting: 'Full tank, full moon/Fair bride, sweet groom.' The ritual symbolizes not only fructification and the renewal of life, but the commune's transition from automotive to sustainable culture.

"By dawn, the car has been transformed from a crude means of transportation into a sanctuary. It will never be driven again."



Miana Jensen

A report on Pamela Osgood's month-long trip to meet with activists in the USSR will be featured in the next issue of Green Letter.

Right: a protest in Karaul, a village on the edge of the nuclear test site in the USSR.



Left: "Save Mother Nature from Extermination," "Let's Give Each Other Clean Air," and "Georgia's Mother Nature is in Danger." Earth Day 1990, Tbilisi, Georgia, USSR.

Against Celebrating the Fifth Centennial of the "Discovery of America"

Mercedes Pardo, Madrid

In November of 1989, the Latin American Encounter of Indigenous Organizations" was held in Bogota, Columbia, with the participation of about 30 organizations from 17 countries. Its purpose was to define a common posture facing the celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Discovery of America by Columbus in 1992.

Likewise in Madrid, Barcelona, and other cities in Spain, commissions have been created which are undertaking campaigns to foster awareness against this celebration.

The official plans for the "Celebration" originated in 1983, when the Conference of Ibero-American Commissions of the Fifth Centennial was formed in Granada, Spain, with the participation of the governments and the Catholic churches of more than 20 countries under the initiative and direction of Spain. Since then, the language has been modified to eliminate the references to "evangelization of America," substituting "Celebration" for "Commemoration," and adding the phrase "cultural encounter." But the meaning, which we may call neo-imperialist, remains the same.

The historical reality of the "discovery" must be kept in mind, a term which hides the conquest and colonization of the American continent by Spain and Portugal. For the inhabitants of the American continent, the conquest and devastating consequences: genocide and ethnocide; pillage and usurpation of their lands; deposition of their forms of government, religion, and culture; large-scale development of feudal labor and slave-trading, including the thousands of Blacks torn from Africa; implantation of unfamiliar diseases which decimated the indigenous populations... (In the Dominican Republic,

the indigenous population disappeared in less than 30 years; the few that remained alive committed collective suicide.)

This colonial heritage has maintained the continent in a position of permanent weakness facing the aggressions and interests, first of the European countries which displaced Spain and Portugal in the position of dominance, and later, of the United States.

These facts cannot be celebrated.

Certainly, some of the official events which will take place have great interest—socially, culturally, and politically—from the point of view of the collaboration with Latin America. But others are as tragicomic as the construction in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, of a huge lighthouse to Co-

the actual situation of Latin America.

Spain is currently undergoing a fever of "modernization," an opening toward the West in every aspect: economic, political and military. In this situation, the Fifth Centennial is being used to transmit "Spain's new image" to the world, as one of the slogans of the advertising campaign reads. The 1992 World Fair and the Olympic Games will be held in Spain as well.

The Spanish government wants to play a leading role in Central and South America, by trying to serve as a bridge between the interests of European capital and the market of 400 million people represented by Latin America.

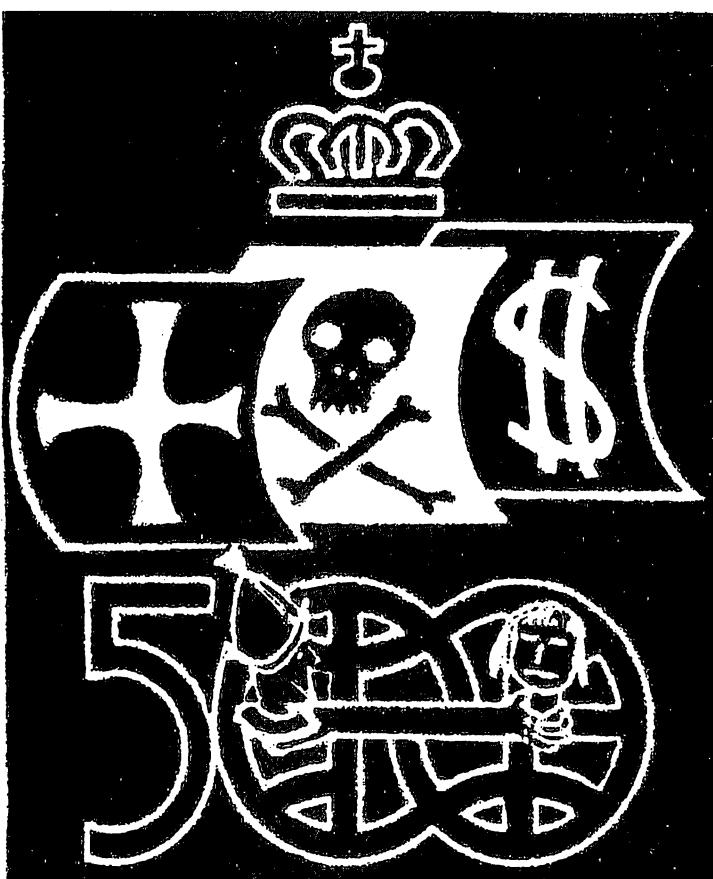
Its plans, moreover, correspond with the ideological, political and economic interests which European Social Democracy (Socialist International) holds in the area, and also promotes the interests of the President of the Spanish government, Felipe Gonzalez, who aspires to the post of General Secretary of the International.

For all of the above reasons, we in Spain say, paraphrasing the Pro-Amerindian Community, "Maltido sea todo progreso montado sobre la miseria, el dolor y la muerte de los pueblos hermanos," that is, "Down with all progress built on the misery, suffering and death of our fellow peoples—in this case, of Latin America, and in general of all Third World countries.

[The South and Meso-American Indian Information Center is co-ordinating resistance to the "celebration" of Columbus' landing. See *Green Letter*, Spring 1990, page 14. For more information, contact

SAIIC, PO Box 7550, Oakland CA 94607.]

(Thanks to Ben and Carmen for translation.)



Columbus which will light up the sea for miles while the city itself lacks water and electricity during several hours every day. Generally, what appears to matter less and less is

Green Forum Philippines

Steve Nadel

Building social movements and networks for Green values is at an early stage in the U.S. So far, U.S. greens have looked largely to Europe for models. Relatively little notice has been given to the growth of greens in Asia, Africa or other non-European nations.

Green Forum Philippines is a coalition of over 400 people's, church and non-governmental organizations. Uniting farm, forest, fishing, tribal and other communities, a bioregionally based program for sustainable development is being created.

The Green Forum sees indigenous tribal peoples as a primary guide to redefining their society's relationship to nature. A new cultural identity interconnected with nature starts with replacing a western view of the sacred in a heaven "above" the earth, with the sacred role of the earth for tribal peoples.

In a neocolonial society like the Philippines, embodying these values in new structures relating nature and society requires making social equity primary. Green politics is immediately forced to engage issues of national and cultural identity and independence, social justice, and internal and international relationships between ecology and economics.

Concretely, this means agrarian reform, with transfer of forest, aquasystems and other ecological resources to community control. Democratic access to technology and training is necessary to develop communal skills for sustainable management of bioregional resources. Transfer of power from international and centralized state agencies to local communities is essential for a bioregionally based economy. For Green Forum, this means defining development as what people do for themselves, as opposed to what is done to or for them.

In a dependent country, there are many barriers to democratic community control. Political elites control the legislative apparatus to parcel out exploitation rights of communal resources to corporate allies. Foreign debt and first world dominated international trade and lending agencies determine economic policy, not ecological sustainability and social equity. National security is still

defined by the needs of the military apparatus and their Philippine and U.S. allies. Removal of the huge U.S. military presence, ending the drain of foreign debt payments, true civilian control of the military and the start of a real peace process with the guerrilla and allied movements are essential conditions for the development of an sustainable society.

Maximo "Junie" Kalaw is co-founder of the Green Forum Philippines, and currently serves as its president. The following is excerpted from an interview published in the

Philippine Resource Center Monitor of May 1989. (The Philippine Resource Center can be contacted at P.O. Box 40090, Berkeley, CA 94704. (415)-548-02546). The Green Forum Philippines can be contacted at 3/F Liberty Building, Pasay Road, Makati, Metro Manila, Philippines.

Monitor: What are the major causes of environmental degradation in the Philippines.

Kalaw: One major cause is the old disease "Philippines" page 44



The Greening of Ireland

Andrea Kesten McClain

I returned to Ireland last Christmas, an expatriate of two years, to find the country in a Green frenzy. Suddenly, it seemed, "Green" had become headline news material, the subject of endless magazine articles and, most noticeably, a household topic of conversation. Hearing two old ladies on the bus discussing the size of the hole in the ozone layer and the suspect "scorcher" of a summer it had been or my seven year old cousin scold my aunt for using her car unnecessarily was strange indeed as my recollections of Irish ecological concern had rarely left the pub after last call. All that, I realized, had changed.

The latter half of 1989 was a remarkable

time for the Irish Green Party (Comhaontas Glas). The party's percentage of the national vote rose dramatically in the Irish national elections and a founding member of the party, Roger Garland, was elected to parliament with another member narrowly missing a seat. Surprising—considering the Irish electoral process of proportional representation where political leverage relies heavily on candidate personality and notoriety (which puts the Greens at a serious disadvantage) and more surprising still when one considers Ireland is still a rural and industri-

See "Ireland" page 45



The Columbia Willamette Greens:

ments.

In September of 1989 we started forming circles. This Winter, we hosted a series of public orientations. As of April, we have over 150 members and 12+ operational circles. This Summer we had our first yearly meeting, which taught us much about needed structural change.

We are hoping eventually to incorporate affiliate organizations into our structure while working towards formation of a politi-

Projects (Not implemented) are to be new institutions, such as companies, which have an ongoing vote of confidence from the 2nd Circle.

Action Groups are to be initiated by the 2nd Circle to address single issues important to the Green movement.

The Reality: Is circle organizing working?

Each one of our circles has many active individuals. About 1/2 of the circle partici-

Between the Idea and the Reality Falls the Shadow

—T.S. Eliot

cal party.

The Vision: How do our bylaws define our structure?

Our bylaws uphold the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and state that all members support the ten values of the Green movement.

Membership

An individual can join the CW Greens without being part of a circle, but enfranchisement comes with circle membership. Individual membership is a \$20.00 fee or trade for work.

Circles: A Circle is a group of 8-12 individuals with at least 4 CW Green members, who support the ten values of the Green movement and share frequent discussions and potlucks. Each Circle sends a rotating representative to express its consensus decisions to the 2nd Circle. Circle members are active in Green Task Forces, Action Groups, and Projects.

Making Decisions

1-2-3 Circles. Each 2nd Circle represents 8-12 Circles. When the 2nd Circle reaches 12+ members, a 3rd Circle is to be formed. The 3rd Circle represents existing 2nd Circles, and would be the metro level organization for the CW Greens. 2nd Circles have one business meeting each month. The 2nd and 3rd Circle use the 80% modified consensus process with voting backup.

Carrying out Decisions

Task Forces: Task Forces are of voluntary membership and provide organizational support in areas designated by the 2nd Circle.

pants are not CW Green members and about 1/2 our members are not in a circle. Circles represent a diversity of geographic, economic, social, and philosophic points of view.

During the last 6 months our circles have done the following:

- Provided testimony on the Styrofoam ban, on sweat equity housing, a flood of letters and endorsements of logging bans and other issues important to our area.

- Sponsored issue forums on Green Cities, Dioxin Pollution, Tax Resistance, Bull Run Watershed Preservation, and brought nationally-known Green speakers to the Portland area.

- Recycled Xmas trees and donated most of the proceeds to a Drug Rehabilitation project.

- On-going actions to have city council minutes printed in readable English well in advance of meetings, and helping to organize and participating in women's rights and anti-racist activities.

- Major organizing of Earth Day Oregon.

- Co-sponsored a nationally-reported "Stand for the Ancient Forest" the day before Earth Day that involved almost a thousand individuals.

In addition many of our members are spending most of their political energy working with other single issue organizations.

Our attitude is that our decentralized, local bias and active involvement with a small group is what Green politics is all about. If our Circles never moved beyond

Imagine: A Green organization that reflects Green Values. A self-replicating system that has natural communication and decision links. Groups of 8-12 who develop trusting and sharing relationships and are an active and empowered kernel of a new society, sending representatives to a 2nd level group of 8-12, who send representatives to a 3rd level... until at the 8th level, the North American Continent has a legislative body representing all citizens.

We believe that the 8-12 person circle structure, with roots in global struggles for democracy, in spiritual, social, and psychological community building, is the Green approach to political action. These autonomous circles that share a commitment to the Ten Key Green Values are coming together to change the political landscape in Pacific Cascadia.

Many circles have been a place to build trust rather than pursue action. Developing a base of trust within a small group creates a solid foundation from which movement/action can begin. Individuals are encouraged by their circles to become more involved in issues and are supported in their political initiatives and acts of courage.

Building on the Circle base, we are working to develop a structure that will provide a central focus for those who share Green values, a democratic process for political action, opportunities to build new institutions for a sustainable future, and an organization that those with only a few free hours a month to contribute can be a real part of. This report shares our progress and difficulties.

How to bootstrap from nothing to a new kind of organization?

The Columbia Willamette (CW) Greens are organized around the Portland Oregon metropolitan area. Inspired by the Greening of the West Conference, a small group developed a circle-based structure and applied as a Committee of Correspondence. In the Summer of 1989 we began passing out brochures based on our original concept and collecting membership fees and commit-

Seed of a New Society

their own activities to cooperate with other Circles, we would still be changing the nature of local politics.

Legislation: 2nd Circle Operations

Circles send two representatives to the monthly decision-making meeting. We publish proposed agenda items proposed by Circles in the newsletter that comes out two weeks before the meeting.

The 2nd Circles have sometimes tried to legislate activities when the task forces do not have the volunteers to carry out decisions. Circles are learning that if they don't develop involvement with task forces, the task forces will reflect the points of view of a "core" who live and breath politics. Some circles are functioning as task forces.

Many committed volunteers are tired of pressure to attend meetings. The same individuals seem to carry all the weight of the work. We are in constant danger of pretending to be more than our current resources can support, being asked to endorse and partici-

pate in a stream of single issues far beyond the group resources.

How to Decentralize an organization?

The newsletter prints news from each circle each month along with minutes, proposals for the 2nd Circle business meeting and conclusions about other proposals. Circle names and the full address and telephone numbers of a circle contact are printed each month. A listing of new members and inquiries is sent to each task force and circle contact once a month. Our membership database and finance data are available to other task forces through "dial-up" arrangements and telephone requests.

Circles currently call and mail directly to other circle contacts. Members have volunteered their computers as word-processing places for those who are preparing circle reports and newsletter articles.

Many of us are trying to develop methods for remaining decentralized and officeless. We do not want to become centralized

and pyramidal.

Traditionally a few "dedicated" volunteers or low-paid political "workers" dominate the office and the decision-making process by virtue of their presence. A secretarial and bookkeeping support office could act to empower members, but those who are pressing for an office are pressing for the traditional structure.

We use task forces to coordinate inter-circle programs, communications and actions. Our Booths and Fairs, Newsletter, and Orientation task forces have absorbed the bulk of our current resources and have the most active members. Administration and Finance each have only three members. This is not a sustainable level of involvement.

Because of the informality of our structure, task force members are given little authority, and have few volunteers to help with mundane tasks. Unfortunately people have been quick to criticize and less likely to

find solutions and take initiative. Many tend to deny the need for leadership, accountability, and personal involvement in organizational work. We are testing out formalizing leadership authority by having task force elections.

Visionaries vs. realists

Our organizing efforts are threatened by many issues that stem from most members being "burned" by traditional hierarchical organizing. Some of these are voting, defining a structure for the organization, defining authority in a non-pyramidal structure, recognition of the limitations in the use of the consensus process, a need for sustainability, and the struggle to make political change rather than pursuit of money as our



Stand for the Ancient Forest: CW Greens co-sponsor Earth Week event attended by 1000 people at Bull Run Watershed. Photo from Portland Alliance.

Building a Green Movement in San Diego

A Report from the San Diego/Tijuana Bioregion

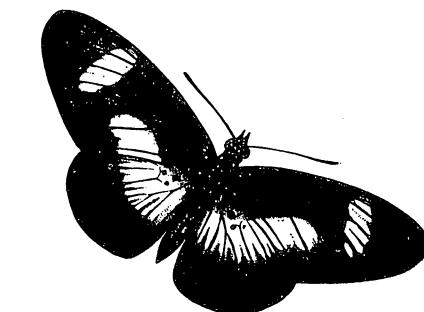
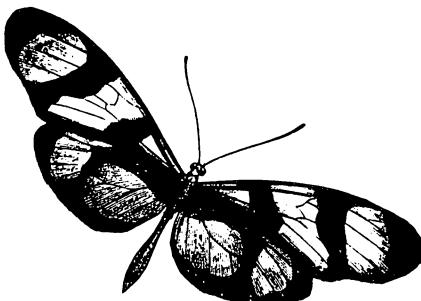


New Locals Form in South-Central Rockies Region

The number of Green groups in the Colorado area has taken a significant leap in the last several months, with Greeley, Evergreen, Fort Collins and Colorado Springs all forming new locals. The Denver Region Greens are experiencing renewed enthusiasm after a period of "consolidation," while the Boulder Green Alliance, CU Campus Greens and Rocky Mountain Greens continue to mature.

What's happening: an ongoing Front Range Bioregional Project which evolved out of the area's first bioregional conference last fall, co-sponsored by several Green groups; Citizens for Balanced Transportation, a coalition of activists brought into being by two area Greens and now meeting weekly; a newsletter, *The Village Green*; a variety of direct actions by the Campus Greens; 1990 electoral involvement in Fort Collins; a focus on biotechnology by the Ecofeminist Action Group; Earth Day planning; film series, speakers, public education; and of course, the GCoC SPAKA conference in September, with a core group of 10-12 now meeting regularly, including representatives from most groups in the area. The pace is quickening in Colorado, and we realize we must prepare ourselves for what surely will be a surge of interest as a result of Earth Day and the national conference.

Matthew Gilbert



weekly meeting and all sorts of energy and ideas emerged and we've never looked back.

By the spring (Earth Day to be exact) of '89 two Greens of San Diego opened The Green Store in Ocean Beach. This proved to be a harbinger of a flurry of activity which has seen our bioregion grow from one local Committee of Correspondence (CoC) to five full-fledged locals with three more forming. The original group is now called the Canyon Greens. Also we have the Ocean Beach Greens, the North Coastal Greens, the Greens of UCSD, and the Chaparral Greens.

Having a diversity of individual locals sprinkled around our region has made for a fertile climate that new greens can easily assimilate into. Since each group is different, it is not uncommon for folks to travel half-way across the county to attend a local's meeting where they feel comfortable. Some locals attract those interested in direct action or tree planting, some like spirituality and study groups, others see a need for structure, organization and political activity. Without each group having to be everything green to

everyone, instead, we honor a healthy atmosphere of individuality and acceptance for the path each local wishes to follow. Understanding that competing to see which local is the biggest and greenest is harmful to the biodiversity of our region, instead, we promote and nurture each other to create a harmony which makes it easier for newcomers to come into the fold.

Besides local meetings, we also have Regional meetings. These meetings are open to all greens from our region who see a need for regional organization and also to get an update on the various locals' activities. To prevent the lugubriousness of these meetings one must not just concern themselves with what is good for themselves or their local, but with what would be good for the whole region and the growth of the green movement. We also have Political Working Group (PWG) meetings open to any and all greens interested in Green Politics. There is a California tri-regional coalition of greens working on a Green Party qualification drive. Those in the PWG of the Greens of San Diego are our contributors to this state-wide effort.

Having the opportunity to host the Inter-regional Committee meeting last March was both inspiring and intriguing. On one hand we feel as if we are up to par with the national green movement, but we are also frustrated that the IC process seems to be bogged down with petty rivalry and a lack of a cohesive vision and commitment. We all agree that the non-hierarchical, decentralized structure of the green movement is what is so attractive and empowering to its members and by trying to emulate on a huge nationwide scale what we have going in our bioregion, and in our tri-regional state, may prove to be a waste of time and cause ulcers. In the meantime we'll continue to ensure the greening of the San Diego/Tijuana Bioregion while hoping the same is happening elsewhere.

Kip Krueger

Reno-Area Greens Active in Growth Issues

The Reno, Nevada-based group, the Great Basin Green Alliance, has become involved in forming a Nevada State Legislature-mandated regional plan for Washoe County (in which the cities of Reno and Sparks are located). At the meetings of the Regional Planning Commission, we have presented our Green position papers on Water Resources and Usage, Solid Waste, and Air Quality, and are preparing further statements covering energy, land use and housing, transportation, economic development, and population growth.

We have also submitted our detailed critique of a 50-year regional water use plan and produced a pamphlet presenting a Green alternative vision for Washoe County's future as a national center of environmentally sound technology, energy generation, and recycling, as well as our picture of an alternative planning process which bases population growth on pre-determined "carrying limits" of the supporting natural ecology. We argued that endless economic growth is not necessarily healthy, but rather the goal of planning should be a stable, sustainable

local economy and society emphasizing quality of life.

This pamphlet and several others (notably two providing information on local recycling options and construction of a home recycling center) were distributed at elaborately colorful booths we set up at the Reno Earth Day celebration and the New World Exposition, a "New Age" addendum to the popular Reno Home Show. At the latter event we organized an Earth Day Auction of "environmentally conscious products and services" donated by local merchants, which raised funds for our own expenses and to bring the solar-powered band Clan Dyken to the Reno Earth Day stage. We also led an Earth Day "Clean Motion" parade through downtown Reno with a large banner, drum, and unusual costumes which captured the attention of local news media.

The Great Basin Greens have also analyzed and submitted commentary to the Bureau of Land Management on the draft environmental impact statement for the proposed Thousand Springs Power Plant in northeastern Nevada—eight coal-fired

plants that would devastate nearby wetlands and nature areas, trespass on Shoshone Indian Treaty lands, and increase the world's total annual emission of carbon dioxide by a tenth of a percent. We have begun contacts and discussions of mutual interests with local Native American activists. Several members took part in the protest demonstration recently held at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. We also set up a table and passed out a Wellness brochure at a local community college Wellness Day event.

Currently we are in the midst of a series of public Greentalks, covering topics from Ecofeminism to Global Warming to Affordable Housing. We are also beginning to organize a regional "council" of environmental organizations to take united stands on selected issues and to interview, rate and endorse local and state candidates in upcoming elections.

David Adams



Model home recycling center, Great Basin Greens

green news

New York Greens Build Alliances

Since the late fall, the New York Green Party has voted to support the Hudson River Restoration Project, which seeks to rehabilitate the west Manhattan waterfront (formerly proposed for the now defunct Westway Superhighway) so as to restore the original estuarine environment in this area of the Hudson River. The NYGP also officially joined the James Bay Defense Coalition which is submitting a limited intervention to stop the ecologically devastating James Bay II project which would dam the rest of the free-flowing rivers in James Bay, province of Quebec, and destroy the ecological and social base of the indigenous Cree Indians.

In addition to participating in a Learning Alliance workshop on Green politics, the NYGP sponsored an informal get-together at the Wetlands Preserve for Frank Schwalba-Hoth, co-founder of the German Greens and now a staff member of the European Parliament, who talked of the new developments in eastern Europe, the founding of Green groups in these countries, and the growing concern with the unaccountable structure of the European Parliament.

The NYGP also held a brunch for Swedish Green parliamentarian Per Gahrton, attended by both NYGP members and other New York City activists. Gahrton was also given a brief tour of the Jamaica Bay Wildlife Refuge in Queens, and taped a radio interview on "New York & Co." on WNYC-AM, NYC's public radio station. (NYGP member Connie Salamone and San Francisco Green Bob van Holth had appeared earlier on another "New York & Co." program to discuss the Siloist/Humanist/Green Future movement and the article authored by Joe Conason which appeared in the Village Voice in late December).

by Lorna Salzman



Youth Greens Active

Here is a hodge-podge report on the general state of green organizing among young adults. Decentralized and dispersed, some of the groups mentioned here are involved in the Youth Greens, some groups are involved in the GCoC, but many are independent. Many have just come into being this year, but others have been around for three or four. In limited space here is a sampling of the activities of young green activists. There are no high schools mentioned here. If you are a high school, campus, or youth group contact one of the addresses here and let's work towards more coordinated organizing among young people.

• UW-Eau Claire Greens got tuna off the campus menu, and have been working around the mining and treaty rights issues. Members went to boat landings in northern Wisconsin, which have been the scene of large, virulently racist protests against Indians who exercise their treaty rights to spear fish during spawning season, and others helped with support work in tribal offices. Members also went to Michigan's Upper Peninsula to protest the Extremely Low Frequency nuclear submarine communication facility. Over spring break they went to a hostel for people visiting prisoners at a regional penitentiary, participated in workshops on prisoners' rights, and helped to rehab the house.

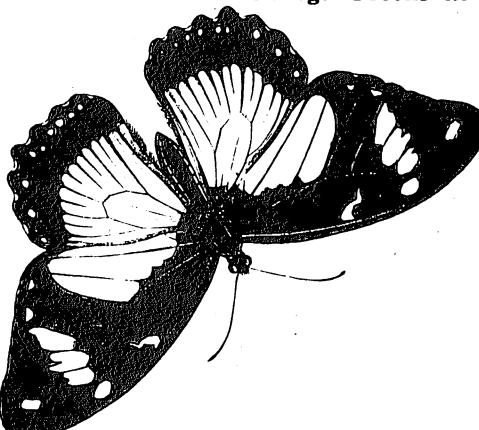
• UW-LaCrosse Campus Greens are working on the preservation of wetlands in their area, as well as stopping a local garbage burner. They also have worked on the treaty rights issue in northern Wisconsin.

• The Burlington (VT) Youth Greens have continued their campaign against private development of the waterfront. They've helped organize a community meals program on Sundays. For Earthday they produced a booklet, and some members are working on a "Disorientation Manual" to be used to counter the University's freshman orientation program. They've been working on radical theater and art, and continue to meet and read weekly.

• University of West Florida-Pensacola

Greens have been fighting a hazardous waste facility with protests and by attending hearings, with good public response: several hundred people attended each hearing they organized for. However, local officials went along with the plan to site the facility, and now the group is looking at more direct ways of fighting. "It's a first for this community; they're begging us to give workshops on nonviolent direct action. They don't think we're strange for doing direct action; they think we're strange for waiting this long," member Amy Bellanger laughs.

- The Antioch College Greens in



Yellow Springs, Ohio brought together a coalition of community, labor, gay and lesbian groups for an Earthweek demonstration in the Dayton financial district. The lunchtime event included puppet theater and speakers. One speaker was broadcast live on local TV saying "social and ecological issues cannot be separated. We have to look at the roots of the ecological crisis in the crisis in society. We must smash capitalism!"

• In the Bronx, Lehmann College Greens' first main project was stopping the planned cutting of 40 trees on campus. Currently, they're working with the local assembly on a bill to require state and city campuses to prepare environmental impact statements (they're currently exempt). The group is also coordinating late-night patrols to catch illegal toxic dumpers in the Bronx, as well as working with other students by blockading the library to protest tuition hikes of 150% (Lehmann is one of two public colleges in the Bronx).

• The UW-Madison Greens do a very popular performance of Dr. Seuss's *The Lorax*. They also worked on a state recycling bill which led to some frustrations, one member said. For Earth Day, the group moved from

the State Capitol out into the streets of Madison to protest the increase in traffic in town which is mostly caused by cars with single drivers. "We've had communication breakdowns where some groups were storming the administration building while others were working within the system," David Waugh notes. They are working at ways to improve their communication.

• In Eugene, Youth Greens held a "compost your consumer crap" protest as part of Earthweek celebrations. The event involved a decapitated '75 Cadillac filled with useless appliances and non-biodegradable junk, covered with dirt and then planted with a garden. Controversy ensued when an American flag and an effigy of George Bush was burned during a rally. That night, in response, fraternity members doused the junk-car-garden with gasoline, setting it ablaze. The car was repainted and replanted, and the event generated an on-going discussion in the community.

• The Northland College Greens in Ashland, Wisconsin were involved in ROTC counter-recruitment as one of their first activities. Racist and homophobic spraypainting on college signs led to an emergency solidarity demonstration led by the Northland Greens, in which seventy students linked arms and moved through all the campus buildings to raise awareness about the episode.

• Many Youth Greens continue to develop relations within the young anarchist community. Most recently this has involved the production and distribution of a continental revolutionary anarchist newsmagazine *Love and Rage*. The current issue features coverage of radical Earth Day actions, a story about Chippewa spearfishing rights, reviews of Public Enemy's latest L.P. and more. For a free sample write them at Box 3, Prince Street Station, NY, NY 10012.

• University of California-San Diego Greens drew initial impetus from community organizers based at the San Diego Green Store. The group has participated in lobbying efforts to protect 8 million acres of desert from destructive off-road vehicle racing, and is currently organizing with community Greens and other environmental groups against the spraying of the highly toxic pesticide malathion to prevent a medfly infestation. The UCSD Greens have also started

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an energy and water conservation group since San Diego is facing its worst drought since the year 1900, and UCSD blatantly misuses water. The UCSD Greens have also started an "alternative topics" group to examine sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia, and alternative ways of communicating. Finally, they're trying to get space for a Green coalition of different social and environmental groups, where students could come together and check out books and literature.

• One of the strongest voices in the student ecological movement is the Student Environmental Action Coalition. The Cornell Greens are perhaps unique among explicitly Green groups in that their primary affiliation is with SEAC. "We started off for two years as an ineffective philosophical group," says Cornell student Chris Moore. "This year, we're more activist-oriented. We felt we had to start with concrete issues and let the ideology follow."

• The University of Minnesota Campus Greens started off in January 1989 as a SEAC affiliate, but soon became the U of M Greens. Their first meeting in October attracted 85 people, and Greens from around the country came two weeks later for the Youth Green Fall Conference. Unfortunately, this event was not well received by some U of M Greens who felt that the emphasis at the conference was not what they were looking for. Even so, the group remains active around treaty rights in Wisconsin and are involved in ongoing work around a proposed incinerator site on University property. They organized a creative protest against Exxon recruiting on campus which featured street theater, a mock Exxon

interview, and a march to the recruiting site. The group also brought some of the Wall Street Action's spirit to the Midwest. Organized by a variety of local Green and anti-authoritarian groups, the direct action on the day after Earthday protest drew about three hundred militant and youthful protesters to a local 1000 ton-per-day garbage burner. Police repression was heavy; eight people were arrested and several more were Maced and clubbed.

• About five miles away, the University of Minnesota-St. Paul Campus Greens are entering their second month of organizing. Based on the U of MN campus which houses the College of Biological Sciences, Veterinary Medicine, and Agriculture, the group is looking into organizing among the U students and staff mostly based on the St. Paul campus who would be working next to the above mentioned incinerator planned on University land in Dakota County.

• South of Minneapolis, the St.Olaf Greens have been a long term fixture in the college town of Northfield. They have sustained a campaign against the CIA's recruiting on their campus, and more recently have been involved in struggles against a proposed incinerator and a local manufacturer on the National Resource Defense Council's Top 100 Polluters list. They've tried to keep students aware of events and gatherings related to the local polluter and are also working on developing a Green resource center at the library.

• Green activists at the University of Colorado-Boulder are currently fighting the local Bureau of Land Management's decision to triple the area of crops and forest land sprayed with chemicals.

• Greens at San Francisco State have started a campus-based organization for students, staff, and faculty called the Green House. A week-long Earth Festival was a major focus of activity at this campus, and featured day-long themes of Energy, Recycling, Water, Alternative Transportation, and Toxics.

• The Rollins College Greens in Florida reportedly have two physical "Green Houses" supplied by their administration to provide them with living and office space.

• The Gustavus Greens, at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota, held a large and well-publicized "Greenstock"

featuring noted local bands.

• Several Youth Greens in New York, New Jersey and New England played key roles in organizing the Earth Day Wall Street Action on April 23. Many other young greens came from around the country to participate in the action. Youth Green affinity groups participated in a "mobile cluster" with other anarchists, greens, students, and socialists which blockaded the main North/South avenue (Broadway) lead-

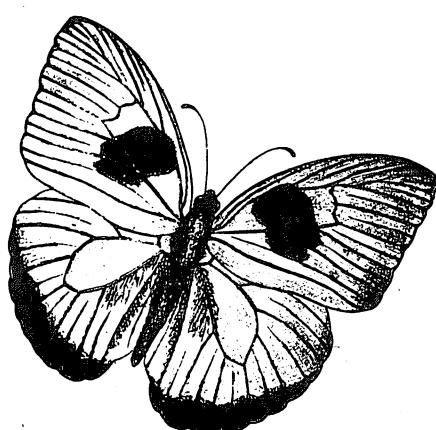


ing to Wall Street. Several youth Greens were arrested, but most got away. Approximately 1200 people took it to Wall Street, and there were 200 arrests. The action provided an opportunity for young greens to work with many other youth and student groups and build common understanding and share a sense of purpose. One of these groups is Student Action Union, at whose conference Brian Tokar (author of the Green Alternative), and other environmental activists spoke. Activists involved in these actions plan to continue to develop a direct action movement which links social and ecological issues. For info: Box 1737, New Brunswick, NJ 08903

• A newly formed Youth Green group at U.C. Berkeley initiated an action, with several bay area activist groups, at the financial district in San Francisco to concur with the Wall Street Action. The action drew an estimated 600 people, with 49 arrests.

• Some young greens in Seattle Washington are musicians, and are involved in the local alternative music scene there. They

see "Youth Greens" page 34



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New England Committee of Correspondence

Our region is quickly gaining momentum. New groups are contacting our main "seed person," Greg Gerritt of the Western Mountain Greens, with enthusiasm. Our recent state meeting was attended by many first-timers interested in starting groups. In response a working group has met to determine support needs of locals.

A newsletter is in the works for the region and a Green CoC Blueprint being developed to easily familiarize new folk how Greens function.

Nancy Allen, longtime Rainbow activist and Democratic committee chairperson in her town, made a public statement at the February local caucus. She stated that she was fed up with the Democrats' undemocratic process and intends to initiate a local green group. Nancy had been active as a green five years ago. Welcome back, we say!

The Casco Bay Greens are currently working to establish a recycling advisory board for Portland, Maine, with recycling becoming mandatory in 1992 and federal funds to be allocated. This board is seen by many (Green, undeclared green, and others) as being a crucial part of insuring an environmentally moral (rather than profit-oriented) dispersal of monies.

Finally, the Merry Meeting Greens have held several recycling forums open to a responsive public.

From the NECoC regional report at the March I.C. meeting

In the new ground-breaking book, *Deadly Deceit, Low Level Radiation, High Level Cover-up* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1990. 222p., \$19.95), the authors, Jay M. Gould and Benjamin A. Goldman, reveal that releases (some of which are routine!) of low level radiation from nuclear power and weapons plants have consistently been followed by "excess" deaths, that is, significantly more deaths, statistically speaking, than would be expected based on national norms.

Within days of the Chernobyl disaster, for example, deaths in the U.S. accelerated, especially among the very young, the very old, and those with infectious diseases and vulnerable immune systems. After accidents at the Savannah River nuclear weapons facility in 1970 and at Three Mile Island in 1979, Gould and Goldman say excess deaths numbered between 50,000 and 100,000. They also found extraordinary increases in infant deaths from birth defects, child cancer, lung cancer, heart disease and other causes after the Three Mile Island accident.

Since 1945 there may have been 9 million excess deaths in the U.S. attributable to the ingestion of fission products from atmospheric bomb tests and nuclear reactor releases! And the U.S. government systematically covered-up these increased death rates in a variety of creative ways for "national security" reasons.

These and other shocking findings fill this well documented, carefully researched study completed by two well respected database experts who have brought us important publications before. Dr. Gould was a member of the EPA Science Advisory Board under the Carter Administration and later did research at the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP) and established a small company, Public Data Access, Inc. (PDA), in the "hope that it could eventually serve as the computer research arm of the environ-

mental movement." Ben Goldman, a former project director at CEP, eventually became the president of PDA and authored *Hazardous Waste Management; Reducing the Risk and The Toxic & Morality Atlas of America*. Gould is the author of five books, including *The Technical Elite and Quality of Life in American Neighborhoods* which examines data from 35,000 zip codes taken from EPA and Census Bureau databases. In 1987 their Radiation and Public Health Project, sponsored by the Commission on Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, published *Toxic Waste and Race*. And, in 1988, PDA completed *Mortality and Toxics Along the Mississippi* for Greenpeace USA. Thus, the authors have impressive experience in database research which integrates diverse government data sources for studying adverse affects on health of environmental hazards. Their previous track record lends credibility to otherwise incredible conclusions. And their charges are destined to create unprecedented controversy over the acceptability of the nuclear enterprise.

Deadly Deceit should be read by anyone who cares about the health and well-being of children and other living things. For our nuclear Auschwitz must now be judged by the extent to which it, to paraphrase the eco-philosopher Thomas Berry, inhibits, ignores, or fosters a mutually enhancing human/earth relationship.

A. Gayle Hudgens, Ph.D.

Attention Greens!

Green Letter depends on you to send us news of your group's activities. Send us accounts and photos of events and actions you organize; analysis of specific projects and what your group learned; reports of alliance-building or community organizing, etc. Please indicate your local or region, and whether you are writing as an individual or on behalf of the group.

And please check your mailing list to be sure we're getting your newsletter.

Reader Responds to 'Progress' Issue

Dear Green Letter,

It is interesting that your last issue was on "What Is Progress?" Very timely. It is an open question. We could ask, does it lead to the good life, but then what is the good life? Is it the progress of machines (which are doing very well) or the progress of humans and life?

I assume you are asking the question as a way to create alternatives to what could be called the "official" view of progress. We all know what is done in the name of "progress."

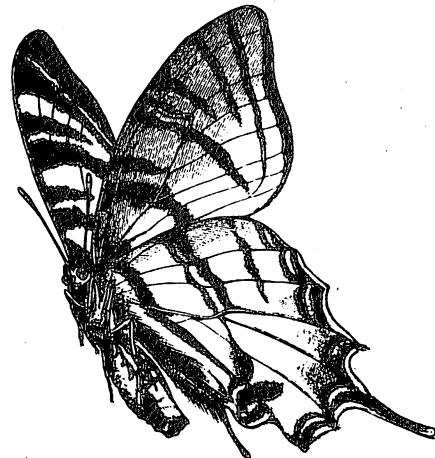
Progress can only begin with humans who can begin to reclaim their individuality from the forces of modernity that would dissolve that individuality into the mass. Maybe we can define progress by several movements taking place: the greens, the bioregionalists, the movement for ecological justice, the re-enchantment of science, social investments, land trusts and revolving loan funds, cottage industries, increasing organic agriculture, the recycling movements. These could all be called "progress." There are many perspectives that are arising.

It seems that a new world order is struggling to be born. This would be the birth of a planetary culture. The nation-state would become obsolete and humans would live in a place, not an abstract state. We would become inhabitants, and live in small eco-communities where face-to-face communication would take us beyond the immoral, faceless bureaucracies that now threaten us with their giantism.

Science would take its place among other cultural enterprises, instead of being the sole arbiter of truth. Poets, artists and philosophers would regain their ability to give their gifts of imagination to the community that no longer would look at everything as a commodity to be bought and sold on the market. Value would no longer be confused with price. Schools would teach thinking instead of obedience. All these ideas I would say hint at progress.

What will bring this about? Each of us working together as loving, creative human beings that can imagine a more balanced, integrative, ecological way of living. Keep up the good work,

Charles Leiden, Altoona, Pennsylvania



Anti-Logging Action in North Carolina

On May 22, the Asheville office of the U.S. Forest Service was symbolically shut down by 12 nonviolent protesters from Earth First! and a new group called the Rescue Rangers. Two protesters threw leaflets into the USFS office before chaining themselves to the doors.

The demonstrators beat drums, held up a large banner reading "Go Clearcut in Hell," and chanted "Stop the logging, Close the roads, Hardwood forests have to grow!"

"Stumpy," a papier-mâché tree stump whose alarmed expression resembles that of Mr. Bill of *Saturday Night Live* fame, also attended the protest, accompanied by a sign that read, "Can Stumpy be the new Forest Service mascot?"

The two chained protesters were arrested and face potential fines and up to 30 days in jail. The event, which attracted broad media coverage, focused attention on timber sales and logging from U.S. national parks as well as on a wider vision of the region's ecosystem.

Condensed from Green Line, PO Box 144, Asheville NC 28802. The Rescue Rangers can be contacted at Box 282, Sylva NC, Katuah Province, 28789.



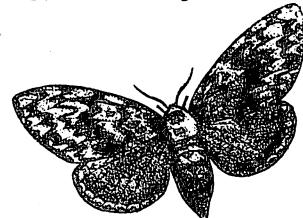
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A Truly Green Spirit

In order to facilitate creation of successful and lasting community it is crucial to maintain a sense of true green spirit. This is a subject which seems to be frequently overlooked when it ought to be constantly reinforced. It appears a friendly reminder could be helpful to all of us.

Achieving Green-ness is a lifelong process; a series of educational and moral steps one must climb at his own pace. A holier than thou attitude on the part of others has no place here. None of us has cornered the market on virtue in this world.

At times a vibration is felt of a sort of competition to be number one in a "Super Green" contest. This attitude cannot be anything save counterproductive to our ho-



listic goals. Better to help everyone become more aware of the environment and its fragility than to risk alienating those people who are not yet knowledgeable on the subject of green living.

We cannot hope to have a positive impact on our Earth without the help of everyone. We must reach out to others, not fall into the trap of any elitist beliefs we may harbor that because of our own "appropriate-technological," vegetarian, or conservatory leanings we are in some way superior to others who have not yet found our path. We are simply doing what must be done; nothing above the call of duty.

This is just meant as a gentle nudge, to be certain that in our daily struggles to do our part to save Mother Earth we do not ever forget that in this project it is not a case of "us" versus "them," but rather humanity as a whole versus ignorance. Let us spread the word in a tone of beauty and love, never of reproach.

Rita May

Nuclear Plant Security Caught Napping on Chernobyl Anniversary

Activists Scale Nuclear Plant Emissions Stack

Eight anti-nuclear activists perched themselves atop a platform 150 feet up a 318-foot emissions stack for low-level radioactive gas at the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant in Vernon, Vermont on Saturday, April 28. Police and plant security were initially oblivious to the platform-sitters.

The eight were among 34 protesters who were arrested inside the fenced-in perimeter of the nuclear plant as part of a day-long Chernobyl anniversary rally, march, and civil disobedience against nuclear power and weapons. All 34 have pleaded innocent to unlawful trespass and plan to use a "necessity defense" of breaking one law to prevent a greater harm.

Nuclear plant security personnel and local and state police had their hands full rounding up the 26 activists from three affinity groups who were getting past the fence at three points near the front gate by sliding under the gate, climbing over with a ladder, and climbing over where barbed wire, along the top of the fence, was cut.

But while authorities were pre-occupied at the front gate, a fourth affinity group of which authorities were unaware rafted down the Connecticut River to the nuclear plant's water intake on the other side of the facility. Though plans for the civil disobedience action had been public for weeks and protestors at the front gate were in touch with the fourth affinity group by walky-talky, the authorities had no idea there were protestors coming in from the river.

Once the fourth affinity group from the river was perched on the emissions stack platform with their banner, the press was informed. The police were the last to know, figuring it out only when support demonstra-



Activists scale the fence at Vermont Yankee power plant after march through Vernon, Vermont on anniversary of Chernobyl disaster.

tors near the front gate started looking and pointing toward the emission tower half a mile away. Anti-nuclear activists are saying this incident points to the danger and susceptibility of nuclear power plants to deliberate sabotage.

The demonstration demanding a permanent shut down of Vermont Yankee was called by the New England Green Alliance, the Green Mountain Alliance of Vermont, and the Clamshell Alliance of New Hampshire.

Another of the network's demonstrations is being planned for the fall by Native American activists in the Southwest to protest Denver-based Energy Fuels Nuclear Corporation's plans to mine uranium on Havasupai land near the Grand Canyon. For the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster in 1991, the network is planning to organize internationally for many more demonstrations of resistance to all aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle: uranium mines and mills, nuclear power and weapons facilities, nuclear fuel and waste reprocessing plants, nuclear transportation routes, nuclear waste dumps, and seats of government responsible for nuclear power and weapons.

Contact: Chernobyl Anniversary Actions, P. O. Box 703, White River Junction VT 05001, (802)295-1544.

Howard Hawkins

Greens Video Documentary Update

For those who missed the first announcement in the Spring 1990 issue of Green Letter in search of Greener Times, a video documentary project about the emergence of the U.S. Greens and their connections worldwide is being developed. The program, which was endorsed at the San Diego IC meeting in March, is slated for a late 1991 release.

The announcement resulted in a few inquiries and help offers. Keep those coming please! We need to form three production crews (east/west coasts and mid/south regions) and gather video footage from various sources such as community cable stations and local videographers willing to share footage.

A full written project proposal will be available by mid-June. It includes the budget and various guidelines for participating in the project. The proposal will be available upon written request to the address below or the GCoC Clearinghouse.

Contact:

Greens Documentary Group, c/o Randall Burton, 408 13th St. #523, Oakland, CA 94612

New England Green Alliance News

As a regional network, the New England Green Alliance has been very active in the last few months mobilizing around three direct action campaigns: a series of civil resistance actions to the Seabrook nuclear power plant, where more than 1500 arrests have made over the last year and many Greens have done jail time; the Chernobyl Anniversary Action at the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant, where 8 activists climbed up a low level radioactive emissions stack before authorities knew they were on the plant site; and the Earth Day Wall Street Action.

In the months ahead, several local groups and statewide networks will be gearing up for the fall elections. The New England Green Alliance regional conference on June 15-17 focused on the role of electoral politics in a Green strategy for change.

But plans are also being made for continued direct action, particularly against nuclear power and with the coalition that put on the Earth Day Wall Street Action, which has decided to continue and plan future radical ecology actions.

Here are some highlights of local Green group activities in the last few months:

Burlington Greens

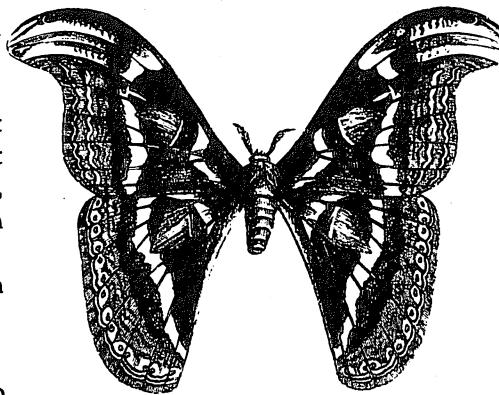
The Burlington Greens ran two aldermanic candidates on Town Meeting Day in March. Bea Bookchin received 25% and Steve Sheehy 3% in their respective races. Their platform called for a moratorium of luxury growth until a democratic economic planning process can be instituted; election of key city commissions, including a new Environmental Commission proposed by the Greens; opposition to a genetic engineering lab at the University of Vermont; building convenient networks of pedestrian and bicycle paths and light rails instead of expanding highways; tax reform, including a steeply progressive income tax and a progressively graduated property tax; a Home Rule Amendment to the Vermont Constitution; the confederation of neighborhood assemblies and town meetings on a county and statewide basis to deal with regional and statewide concerns through a decentralized grassroots-democratic process; and city charter revisions to democratize city government, including the right of empowered neighborhood assemblies to mandate and recall aldermanic representatives.

The Burlington Greens have also been

working in a coalition of environmentalists and Native Americans in New England and Québec to oppose expansion of Hydro Québec's mammoth James Bay hydroelectric dams. The dams will flood the Cree out of their homeland and destroy vital habitat for wildlife and migratory birds. The opposition to Vermont utility contracts with Hydro Québec has succeeded in forcing the Public Service Board to delay a decision on the proposed contracts that was scheduled for April.

New Hampshire Greens

Twenty New Hampshire towns passed a town meeting warrant article initiated by the Greens calling for a comprehensive state



bill to phase the use of toxics out of the economy by the year 2000. In the next session of the state legislature, the Greens hope to have introduced a Toxics Transition Act they have drafted. What is unique about the bill as environmental legislation is that it would democratize the administration of environmental regulations. It would also bring the citizenry into the administration of the act through an assembly of elected town and neighborhood representatives, which would set priorities and timetables for toxics reduction measures and appoint officials to carry out the work.

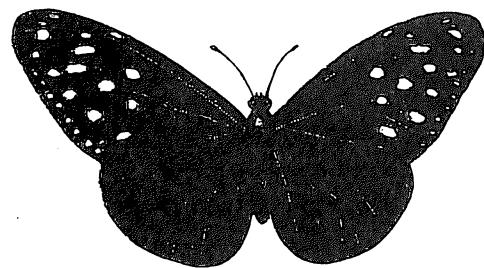
Guy Chichester, a member of the Great Bay Greens and a founding member of the Clamshell Alliance and the Green Committees of Correspondence, faces a 3.5 to 7 year sentence for a class B felony criminal mischief charge. On Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday in January, Chichester took his chain saw to a Seabrook nuclear evacuation siren pole, cutting it down, issuing a public statement, and turning himself in. He has been arraigned, but no trial date has been set yet. Chichester will plead not guilty and

argue a necessity defense that he broke one law to prevent a greater harm. To support Guy Chichester's legal defense, send contributions to: Take 'Em Down, Box 339, Rye NH 03870.

New Haven Green Party

The New Haven Greens can justly say, "We told you so!" Back in the fall, the Greens' vote totals in the election declined from their previous two efforts, down from 10% to 3% in the mayoral race and from 20-40% to 10-15% in the aldermanic races, although Green Toni Harp was re-elected to her aldermanic seat. Many who had voted Green in the earlier races returned to the Democratic fold to vote for John Daniels for mayor, a black state representative who had the full support of the state Democratic establishment. Daniels continued to support the traditional Democratic program of downtown development to expand the tax base, while the Greens continued to emphasize tax reform, including making wealthy Yale University pay its fair share, as the key to upgrading city services and environmental protection.

Through an analysis and exposure by the Greens of a sweetheart arrangement between the new mayor and Yale which shows that it exempts much taxable Yale property



and deprives the city of enormous potential revenues, it now appears that the Board of Aldermen agree with the Greens and will not approve the agreement with Yale.

The Greens' next step is to get a non-binding referendum on taxing Yale on the city ballot for November. They may also run two state senate candidates, Joel Schechter and Hans Konig.

On other fronts, the Greens remain active on recycling and education issues and

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the Green Party chair, Barbara Greenwood, has been appointed to the Charter Revision Commission, where she is pushing for an elected Board of Education and a binding municipal initiative and referendum process.

Upper Valley Greens

Randy Koch came in second out of three candidates, just 13 votes behind the winner, for a Board of Selectmen seat in Bethel, Vermont on March Town Meeting Day. Leading up to Town Meeting Day, Koch was instrumental in pulling together recycling activists to oppose a large regional waste district set up by the state. The large district



would have had the capacity to support an incinerator. The activists succeeded in getting their Town Meetings to vote to confederate into a smaller district, too small to support an incinerator but big enough to support coordinated recycling.

Regional Conference

The New England Green Alliance held a regional conference on the weekend of June 15-17 in Post Mills, Vermont. The theme was "Toward a Confederation of Green Cities and Towns." It featured workshops and discussions on the role of town meetings, neighborhood assemblies, and electoral politics in building a confederal grassroots democracy.

For more information, contact New England Green Alliance, P. O. Box 703, White River Junction VT 05001, (802) 295-1544

Howard Hawkins

GCoCer Networks in Europe

During a trip to Europe last October I visited the office of the Belgian Greens in Brussels. At the European Parliament where he has an office, I met with Leo Cox of Belgium who is one of the four co-secretaries of the European Greens. He said it was important for the North American Greens to have close contact with the European Greens, which has not been the case thus far. He recognized the unique importance of the United States among the world's nations and the North American Greens relationship to the European Greens as a potentially significant step toward the creation of a global Green organization.

Despite different origins, whether of the political left or of the peace and environmental movements, the Greens in Europe and in other countries have common programs on all ecological, social and political issues. Even where, as in West Germany, there are coalitions with the Social Democrats in the Frankfurt and West Berlin governments, they are founded on common agreements that do not violate the Green program and values. The coalitions are seen as having a tactical or strategical character and as being viable only as long as the common agreement is respected.

Leo Cox told me that with 6,000 active members in Belgium the Greens received 13% of the national vote for the European Parliament. They have 19 deputies out of 400 in the national chamber and about 250 local council members.

The Green members of the European Parliament are active in all committees even though the European Parliament's undemocratic structure does not allow for it to legislate but limits it basically to discussion, making proposals, and scrutinizing its budget.

From within the European Parliament, the Greens will be able to criticize, propose, and work for a different vision of Europe. Against the restrictive common market and military bloc plans dictated by multi-nationals and agri-business, Antoine Waechter of France in the name of the international Greens has called for "opposition to this centralized market and its military blocs, and for a larger and more diverse Europe embracing all countries that have been left out, East European and those that are neutral, and for a decentralization and increase in power of the regions, good management of resources, and broad European environmental politics."

Mark Sharron

Hiroshima/Nagasaki Day actions at Rocky Flats, Colorado

A week of nonviolent resistance in connection with the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima is planned at the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant near Denver, Colorado. Rocky Flats recycles plutonium from older bombs and makes "triggers" for new first strike weapons.

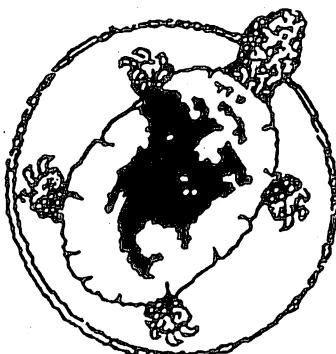
A nonviolent blockade is planned for the week beginning August 5th, to close Rocky Flats as often and as continuously as possible. Co-sponsors include American Peace Test, Campaign for a No First Use Policy, National Mobilization for Survival, Nuclear Resister, Nukewatch, Pax Christi, Sane/Freeze, and War Resisters League.

For more information on participation of financial support of the actions, contact Rocky Flats Civil Resistance, 1035 Walnut, Suite 201, Boulder CO 80302, (303) 444-5462.

North American Bioregional Congress

The Fourth North American Bioregional Congress will be held August 19-26 at Lake Cobossecontee, in the Gulf of Maine Bioregion. The two themes of the Congress are "Organizing our Bioregions" and "Promoting Cultural Diversity—Building Alliances and Coalitions."

Registration is \$175, including room and board. For more information, contact NABC IV, c/o Gulf of Maine Books, 61 Maine Street, Brunswick ME 04011.



South Florida Greens Organize ————— Major Earth Day Event

Our bioregional group's Everglades Bioregional Clearinghouse extends from the west coast to Lake Okeechobee and the coast south through the Keys. South Florida Greens meet in Boca Raton.

We've Greened a major recycling project and had speakers on incinerator alternatives, the condition of Lake Okeechobee, farmworkers' problems, food irradiation, universal health care, animal rights issues and more in the past two years.

We want to share some highlights, pitfalls and comments on our successful Earth Day 1990 celebration's Greenness to inspire, assist and encourage. It is most helpful if you happen to have an upbeat, broad and national focus—such as the twentieth annual celebration of Earth Day.

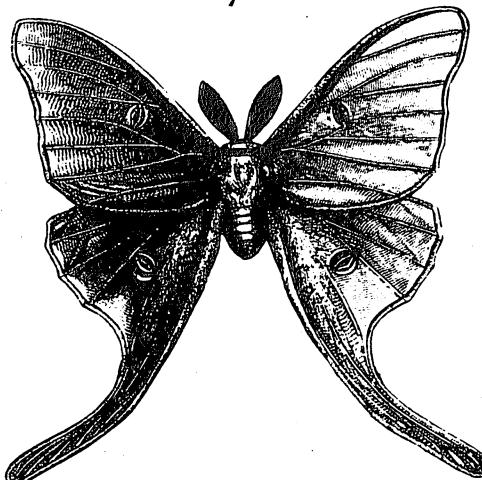
The risk and potential in sponsoring an Earth Day event for our fledgling group was great, but it focused our energy, led many of us to commit ourselves fully and allowed us to publicly identify as Greens, promoting green values. Green ideals asserted themselves to synchronize our ten key values—and the responses we wanted.

The early choice to gather in a large, pristine, natural public park dictated many positive elements of our work. Morikami Museum and Japanese Gardens is untainted with commercial intrusion, carries an important segment of early Florida history, and had just the right open space—sun, shade under pine trees, and the visual relief of flowing water. This park was the only fully Green option.

We projected 400, then 1200 attendees and started to think of feeding such a multitude. Our brochures described our Green organization, so no one would be taken by surprise in this conservative community. A little Earth Day reprise set the scene.

Recycling was incorporated by encouraging participants to bring green glass or aluminum and by creating separate labeled bins near foods.

Both the emphasis of national Earth Day planning and Green values supported our decision to have only non-profit organizations, with no funds to come from corporate sources. We did not accept even Shaklee, a national Earth Day committee sponsor, or green-flavored candidates. Three or four



political hopefuls mingled naturally with groups and were casually recognized as among friends. This inclusion added Green perspective to the issues, but avoided a campaign atmosphere of five-minute statements from everyone on the trail.

We encouraged local talent, and blanket-based weaving and tabletop woodcarving also counted as entertainment for this appreciative audience.

Vegetarian food was an easy green consensus for our group. Sensitizing even other conservation groups to sustainable agriculture and encouraging everyone to try tofu and sprouts seemed natural to us. Our food purveyors kept prices low, food vegetarian in spirit as well as reality and containers minimal or recyclable.

Public and private schools and universities, churches, health practitioners, bureaucrats, relevant government agencies at local levels, and individuals signed on, as did the Sheriff's Department—for traffic control.

It clarifies Green action to have diverse skills on the organizing committee—at least one steering committee member who is a detail fanatic, one who is well-connected in the community, one who has artistic or journalistic sense, etc. Also muscle, and flex time.

"Earth Calling Cards" provided a colorful addition. People lined up three deep at our Greens welcome table, "doing their bit" by signing a 3x5 pastel Earth Calling Card to get details on global and local changes wrought by earth Day. These cards will eventually be used for fundraising, membership, etc.

Members of the planning committee of

green news

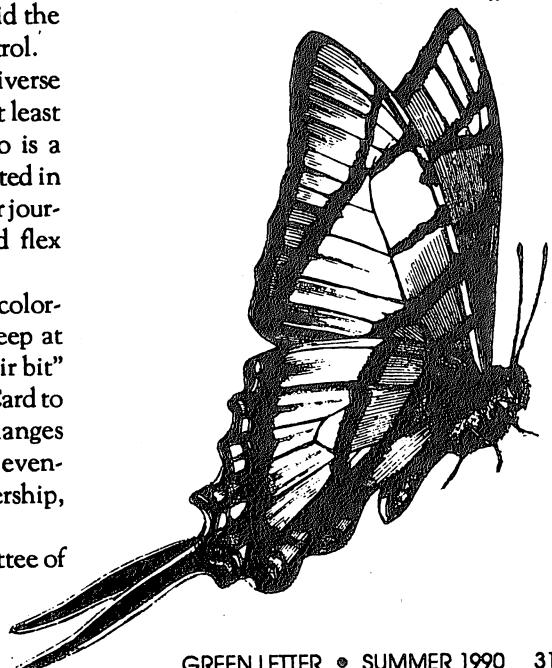
South Florida Greens began Earth Day with the Tobacco Ceremony at dawn. We welcomed the day and reaffirmed our oneness with all beings and with the earth beneath our feet—and then turned to go down the gentle slope to enjoy the fruits and seeds of our labor with a relaxed sense that all would go well.

And it did go well.

Many of the nearly 7,000 who strolled among the booths, mini-entertainment arenas, and low hum of warm greetings, storytelling, happy children and informative conversations under dappled shade chose the same words to describe the daylong event: "Like a retreat, serene, like a family picnic, intimate."

In one day the South Florida Greens raised funds, consciousness, group credibility, and membership, and contributed to bringing together a diverse community. Calls of appreciation and when to do this again began to appear on message tapes in the evening of Earth Day, and the great Green event has been mentioned warmly at every local group's subsequent meetings and newsletter. Our follow-up/ future focus meeting, which was also planned from the beginning, goes beyond new networking to next year's event.

Elisabeth Hoffman





If there was ever a place on the face of the planet in more desperate need of Green politics than New York City, we'd be hard pressed to name it. The city's ecological and social problems are staggering in their scale and complexity. From solid waste management and air pollution, to radioactive dumps in Queens and Brooklyn and oil spills in the harbor, to AIDS, homelessness, runaway real estate development and violent racism, activists in New York City are under siege.

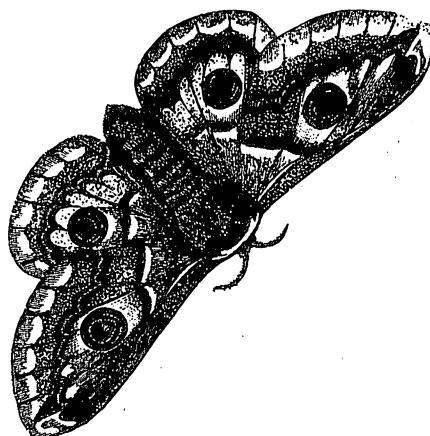
Yet those engaged in such struggles have not moved at the practical level toward an understanding of the origins and solutions common to each specific issue. Green politics hopes to provide such an understanding and organizing vehicle. The most committed and effective activist groups in NYC with at least a somewhat Green consciousness are not the ones which go by the label "Green". The groups which call themselves "Green", in fact, tend to be poorly organized, mutually divisive, and suspicious of each other. Attempts to build an explicitly Green movement in NYC since 1984 have illustrated the worst tendencies of consensus process, with personality politics and ego conflicts consuming the bulk of the groups' energies to the detriment of concrete organizing.

Most explicitly Green groups in NYC splintered off from the first, called simply the New York Greens, which began on a promising note, drawing large numbers to early meetings in 1984. It was founded by such figures as former Audubon and Friends of the Earth organizer Lorna Salzman, author Kirkpatrick Sale, and recycling activist Carl Hultberg.

The issue which ostensibly split the New York Greens was whether to support the "Garden of Eden," a sprawling and elaborate garden (illegally) created in a vacant lot in a Lower East Side slum by Adam Purple, a squatter and self-described anarchist. In the wake of the controversy which ensued after the City government announced plans to bulldoze the garden, those who had balked at giving the New York Greens' offi-

cial support to the struggle to save it left to form their own group. Called the New York Green Party, its key figures include Salzman and Sale.

Five years later, the New York Green Party is still in the process of drafting a platform for the eventuality of electoral contests and has done little grassroots organizing apart from a series of monthly discussion



groups entitled "Ecologues." [See NYGP report, page 23.]

Another key issue in the split was the presence in the New York Greens of the notoriously marijuana-obsessed Dana Beal and his latter-day Yippies among the faction which supported the Garden of Eden. After the split, Beal was purged from the New York Greens. The group stayed alive, mostly through Hultberg's efforts, serving as a network for activists in such groups as the Village Green Recycling Team, the Good Food Co-op, and the Shad Alliance, a local anti-nuclear group. While these activists continue to work in their own groups, there is no longer any semblance of co-ordination among them through the New York Greens, which today exists in name only.

An offshoot of the New York Greens which took on a life of its own was the "eco-feminist" Green Women, which was active against food irradiation and animal experimentation.

The New York Green Network was founded by Haitian emigre Yanique Joseph as an alternative to both the New York Greens and the New York Green Party. Joseph envisioned the Network as a vehicle for bringing Green-oriented activists into an alliance with other grassroots political groups,

Green Activism in

especially the Rainbow Coalition. Both Green Women and the New York Green Network have lapsed into inactivity, although Joseph continues to keep the New York Green Network alive at least in name.

The New York Green Network was the most left-leaning of the City's Green Groups until the Left Greens, linked to the Left-Green Network founded by Murray Bookchin, began working in New York last year. The Left Greens have recently been the most active of the city's Green groups, with representative Michael Hoexter organizing a series of public discussions on Green politics.

Some good news is that following a December front-page Village Voice exposé, the so-called "Brooklyn Greens," a front for the international Siloist mind-control cult, has lost all momentum and credibility.

More mainstream and environmental organizations have done little to fill the political vacuum left by the failure of the Greens to spark a grassroots political-ecological movement. Nonetheless, a variety of environmental organizations and community groups have attempted to meet a bewildering array of immediate threats. One major success in the 1980s was the defeat of Westway, a new elevated highway planned for Manhattan's West Side. A coalition including the parks Council, New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG), and local community groups has won preliminary municipal and state support for the creation of an extensive waterfront esplanade in place of Westway. Fighting continues over the fate of specific properties and the use of escrowed Westway funds (mass transit, the esplanade, or a revised highway proposal).

In poverty-stricken Williamsburg, Brooklyn, the battle over a proposed garbage



New York City

incinerator—the first in a system of eight proposed under the administration of the previous mayor, Ed Koch, as the "solution" to the waste crisis—has caused divisions between community activists and mainstream environmental groups. Neighborhood leaders and clean air advocates have resisted any move to incineration and called for 100% recycling. The Natural Resources Defense Council and other mainstream groups have hailed the Department of Sanitation's glacially-paced, unambitious recycling program as a step "in the right direction", while maintaining that some incineration will be necessary as the mountainous Fresh Kills landfill in Staten Island nears its capacity.

Land-use/real-estate fights abound, providing fertile ground for a union of community and environmental issues. A notable struggle is that against Trump City, which would include the world's tallest skyscraper and a vast array of luxury housing units, upper-crust retail stores, and a large amount of additional car-parking on Manhattan's West Side. Another is Atlantic Terminal, where a similar development (minus the skyscraper) is planned for a decrepit, largely minority Brooklyn neighborhood. Activists who have filed suit on environmental grounds contend that the city funds involved would be better spent revitalizing the existing neighborhood.

Mass transit and alternative transportation advocates failed to prevent a 15% subway and bus fare increase which went into effect January 1. Nevertheless, an anti-car constituency in Manhattan is beginning to gel around the activities of bicycle, pedestrian, and mass transit advocates. Spurred by the now-evident specter of continually-increasing transit fares and the apparent lack of any coherent environmentally-conscious transportation policy, public opinion supports a Midtown car ban and increased subsidies to mass transit. The issue of pollution abatement cannot now be raised without including the question of restricting automotive traffic. A 1987 effort by the Koch administration to close three Midtown avenues to bicycle traffic was scuttled by the resistance of bicycle messengers and the bi-

cycle advocacy group Transportation Alternatives.

The most interesting recent political development in the NYC environmental movement was the formation of Environment '89, a coalition of over 200 groups around a platform calling for broad policy changes to improve the liveability of the City. While the platform is indeed impressive in the scope of the changes it envisions, its initial goal of injecting ecological issues into the 1989 mayoral campaign met minimal success. The coalition has concentrated on the behind-the-scenes

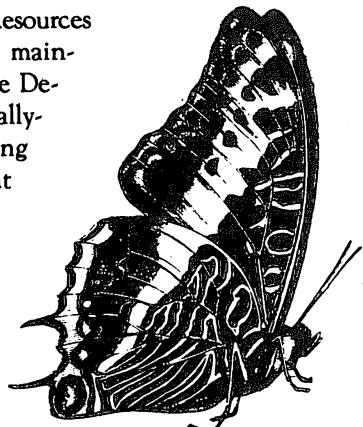
lobbying practices of professional environmental groups, shifting focus away from an initially-promising grassroots component of the initiative. Since the election the Dinkins administration has paid a fair degree of lip service to environmental issues, largely in response to this new coalition. The core of the group remains committed to the coalition and platform; it is unclear how their tactics will evolve over the coming year.

For now, the more militant, publicly-oriented approach of groups such as the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) has been absent from the New York City environmental scene. Activists working toward a more explicitly political ecology movement were also involved in organizing the Earth Day Wall Street Action, a blockade of the New York Stock Exchange on April 23rd [see pages 10-11].

Green thinkers and environmental activists continue to have a forum in the multi-issue Learning Alliance, which organizes frequent workshops and discussion groups with an eye toward networking and movement building. The potential exists for the re-emergence of a Green movement in NYC; hopefully, Green-oriented activists are learning the lessons of the last six years of fragmentation and elitism.

The Learning Alliance networks with most Green and environmental groups in NYC. Call (212) 226-7171.

Bill Weinberg & Jon Orcutt



green news

Greens Go Global

The International Working Group (IWG) of the Green Committees of Correspondence is now working out of Earth Island Institute in San Francisco to facilitate contact and the exchange of information between Greens around the world. This will involve policy and program suggestions as well as support for campaigns and personal visits. The IWG can only function successfully if each region designates a working group member and those members get in touch with us soon.

On May 2nd the IWG sponsored a talk in San Francisco by Sara Parkin, a spokesperson for the U.K. Greens. We are also designing a global Green data base in conjunction with the Earth Island Institute that will be made available for GCoC use. The IWG is working now to set up an international panel for the September gathering in Boulder, and we are actively assisting representatives of the IWG to participate in Green conferences in Europe and South America.

There have been numerous requests from abroad for information about GCoC. We are doing our best to respond, despite limited resources, but we need volunteers and contributions.

Contacts: International Group-GCoC c/o Earth Island Institute, 300 Broadway Suite 28, San Francisco, CA 94133

Coordinators: Ross Mirkarimi (415) 863-5364 and Kendra Ellis (415) 788-3666



Youth Greens

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are working at independently producing a record compilation and are discussing publishing a political and artistic music fanzine, as well as supporting squatters in Seattle and helping to provide performance space for bands and fans of all ages (not just drinkers).

• At a recent Florida Greens conference; a workshop on campus organizing attracted 60 students from five campuses. Out of that meeting came a desire to get a Green student organizing handbook together. (an idea supported by other youth and student Green chapters).

• Youth Greens and youth and student activists from the Northeast and midwest gathered informally in NJ to launch a new theoretical journal dedicated to the discussion and debate of radical and ecological issues. Pieces range from historical studies, to critiques of theorists and examinations of contemporary issues, such as feminism, rage, revolutionary strategy, and new social movements. Contact Paul Glavin, c/o Box 61, Plainfield, VT 05667. Other reported Green student and youth groups include the University of Washington-Seattle Campus Greens; a Green Study Group at Grossman College in El Cajon, CA; the University of Montana-Bozeman Greens; the Colorado State University Greens in Steamboat; Berea College Project Green in KT; the Bowdoin College Greens in Brunswick, ME; the Springfield Greens based at Southwest Missouri State; the Hunter-Brookdale Greens at Hunter College in New York City; the Dartmouth College Greens in Hanover, NH; and Greens at UW-Whitewater and Ripon College in WI. Students are reportedly active participants in the Southeast Ohio Greens, a newly-formed community Green group.

UPCOMING EVENTS

• A call has been made for student and youth to attend the GCoC IC meeting in

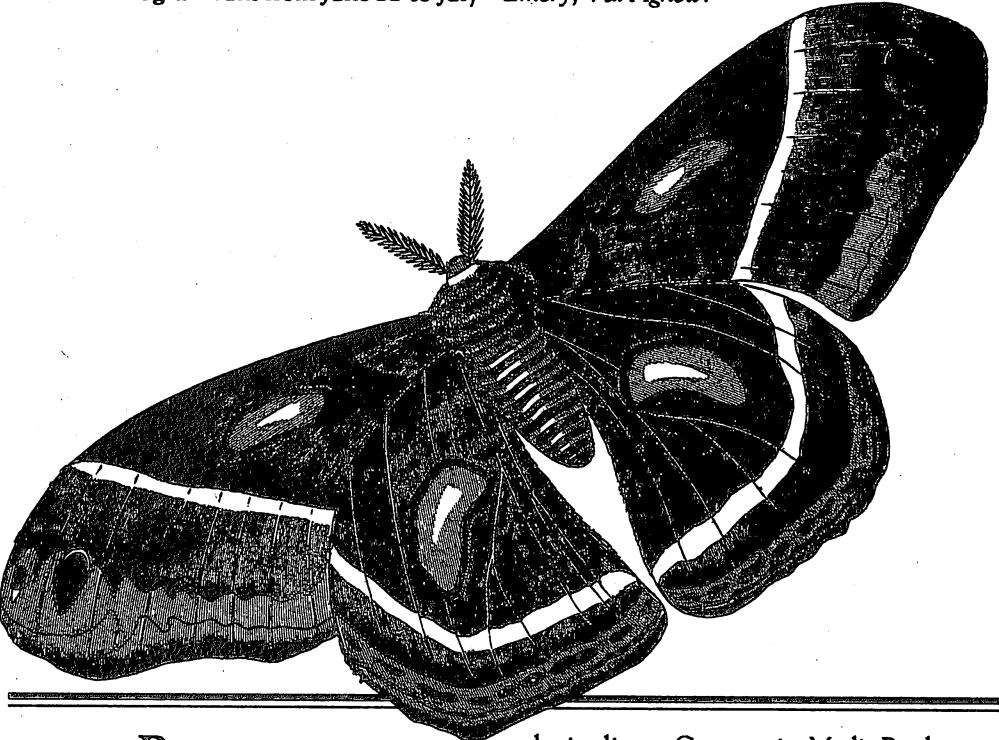
Ann Arbor this June 23, to plan a youth caucus at the national Green gathering in Boulder this September and to discuss the future of youth and students within the Green movement. For further information, call Greta at 612-544-4679 or Paul at 612-825-4336 or contact Interim Green Youth & Student Clearinghouse, Box 14069, Dinkytown Station, Minneapolis, 55414

• Planning is underway for the third continental Youth Green conference to be held July 27-31, 1990 in Plainfield, VT. For information contact Paula Emery, P.O. Box 61, Plainfield, VT 05667 (802) 454-8073. The Youth Green Clearinghouse is in Eugene, c/o Survival Center, EMU Suite 1, University of Oregon, Eugene OR 97403

• The Institute for Social Ecology Summer Program runs from June 22 to July

23 in central Vermont. Faculty and visiting teachers include Chiah Heller, John Mohawk, Chino Garcia, Ynestra King, Murray Bookchin, and John Clark. Classes include bioregional agriculture, ecological technology, ecofeminism, advanced concepts in social ecology, and reconstructive anthropology. College credit may be available. Contact them at (802) 454-8493, Box 89, Plainfield VT 05667.

THANKS TO: Erin McRaith, Tim McRaith, Paul Glavin, Amy Bellanger, John VanHorne, David Schlossberg, Chris Beimbom, Bob Bultman, Meghan O'Rourke, David Waugh, Jennifer Danek, Chris Moore, Kate Fox, Eric Odell, Greta Bauer, Phen Canner, Brent Harring, David Biggs, Charles Betz, Paula Emery, Val Agnew.



Resources

Two videos from Earth First!: 1) An organizing tool for the Rainforest Action Network, a documentary of the John Seed and the Wallys 1989 Rainforest Roadshow; 2) "When A Tree Falls... An Inside Look at Earth First!", prepared for the EF! Legal Defense Fund. Both videos by Andy Caffrey, advance copies available for \$30 each, including shipping. Send to: "ECO-Videographe, 1409 21st Ave., San Francisco, CA 94122

Videos on Native American Culture, Heritage and Current Issues. Send for brochure

and price list to: Community Media Productions, P.O. Box 909, Lemont, PA 16851.

The Ecological Restoration of the Northern Appalachians: Vast expanses of conifer forests east of the Mississippi were lost during the early settlement of North America. What were the mistakes that were made and still being made? How might they be rectified? \$12 plus \$1.50 postage to: PAW, RFD 1, Box 530, North Stratford, NH 03590

Catalog of Bioregional Primary Sources— Reprints at cost of articles in which bioregional and rehabilitation were first defined, as well as the first explorations of their philosophical, political and metaphysical implications.

Green Gathering 1990

The U.S. Greens will have their third national gathering this fall, September 12-16, at the YMCA Camp of the Rockies in Estes Park, Colorado. The purpose is two-fold: to affirm an initial "Green Program" that identifies positions in a number of key areas, and to ignite a strategy for bringing this program into reality.

At the gathering, Greens from all over the world will be present, as well as representatives from many organizations throughout the country who have been actively involved in the development of the program.

The 1990 Green Gathering is open to everyone. Delegates only, however, will participate in the ratification part of the conference.

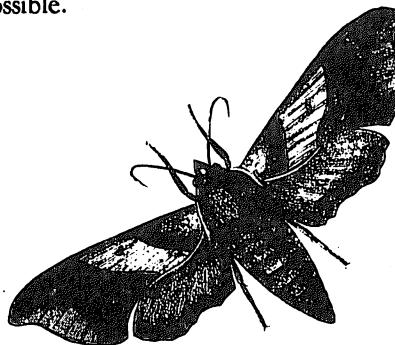
Preparations for the gathering are now in full swing. Planning and advisory group members met in May at the site to iron out final details, and were very impressed with both the facilities and the location, with a base elevation of 8000 feet, surrounded on all sides by majestic snow-capped peaks.

With so many people working on the conference and enthusiasm growing as the event approaches, we are hopeful that Green Gathering 1990—Greening the 90s will be a memorable experience for all who attend. It is open to both delegates and non-delegates, member Greens and the "green in spirit," and anyone who has felt the yearning to breathe life into a seemingly lifeless world.

What to Expect

The conference itself has finally taken form. Registration will begin Wednesday

September 12 at noon. The opening ceremony is scheduled for 7:30 that night, with socializing to follow. The process for ratifying the first stage of the Green program (called SPAKA, Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas,) is scheduled to begin Thursday morning, with final voting to take place early Friday afternoon. While this may sound ambitious, please know that much work has been and continues to be done beforehand to make the process as smooth as possible.



The international panel on Thursday night will feature not only updates from Canada, Great Britain, Western Europe and others, but also a report from Eastern Europe. A journalist who has been travelling in that area throughout the summer will arrive in the States just in time to give us a firsthand presentation. A letter and packet from Grüne Partie Leipzig (East Germany) has also arrived, expressing great interest in our activities with hopes to attend.

Non-delegate workshops on Thursday and Friday will give those of you not working on the program document an opportunity to

learn more about the Green movement in general and certain issues in particular. Unless, of course, you decide to indulge in the many pleasures of the Rocky Mountain ecology, which we expect everyone to take advantage of during their stay. This will be the most pleasant time of the year in the high country, with warm days, cool nights, the turning of the aspens, and perhaps some bugling elk. Mosquitos are optional.

Saturday will feature three workshops: alliance-building, local organizing, and political action. Student and ecofeminism workshops are scheduled for Sunday morning, to be followed by the closing ceremony. We expect to be finished by 1:00.

Conference Details

The conference fee is \$250 for three people per room, or \$275 for two people per room. It covers everything, from dinner on Wednesday to the final ceremony on Sunday. The rooms are spacious, with one bunk, one queen-sized bed, and a 3/4 bath. The fee will go up \$25 on August 1 unless you send us a \$50 nonrefundable deposit to hold your space. We need an accurate number by early August to plan for transportation, food, materials, etc.

If not us, who; if not now, when; if not the greens, the republicans?

For further information, write to Green Gathering 1990, PO Box 1289, Boulder CO 80306, or call (303)343-8116.

Send to: Planet Drum Foundation, P.O. Box 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131.

Coop America Alternative Catalog, Summer, 1990—\$2 to Coop America, 2100 M St., NW, Suite 403, Washington, DC 20063.

Race, Poverty and the Environment—A new newsletter published as a project of Earth Island Institute and a caucus of interested people attending the Public Interest Law Conference held at University of Oregon in March, 1990. Its statement of purpose explains, "To understand the nexus of race, poverty and the environment, we must be aware of the way people engaged in struggle view themselves, their culture, needs and

priorities." It includes many articles on this theme, as well as resources and job opportunities. Contact: *Race, Poverty and Environmental News*, c/o EII, 300 Broadway, Suite 28, San Francisco, CA 94133-3312.

Conferences

Twelfth North American Prairie Conference, "Recapturing a Vanishing Heritage", August 5-9, University of Northern Iowa. For information, contact: TNAPC, 2759 McCollum Science Hall, UNI, Cedar Falls, IA 50614.

Sacred Values of Land and Sustainable

Human Community, Mesa Verde, Colorado, Advance Registration \$200. Info: Institute for the Study of Natural Systems, P.O. Box 637, Mill Valley, CA 94942.

Sustainable Development for the Third World (Using permaculture to extend traditional techniques). July 15-30. Intensive two week course in Mexico. \$700 includes food, accommodations and field trips. Info.: Aprovecho Institute, 80574 Hazelton Rd., Cottage Grove, OR 97424, (503) 942-9434.

Canadian Greens/Green Party of Canada Gathering and Convention, August 14-19. Contact CG/GPC Hub Office, 831 Commercial Dr., Vancouver, B.C. V5L 3W6.

green news

Milwaukee

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cate as many people as possible, to build a broad coalition around environmental and social issues, to provide a forum for social and environmental groups to organize and build their groups, to expand the environmental movement beyond it's white middle-class base and to build an on-going coalition.

Well before we approached the media, we sent out a mailing to 400 environmental, community, peace and social justice organizations. We attended meetings of the Milwaukee Public Schools, religious schools, suburban schools, and alternative schools. We made lots of calls to feminist organizations, gay organizations, unions, campuses, Native American, Black and Hispanic groups, children's organizations, and others. In many ways this set the character of the event from the start. When we did go to the media, we relied more heavily on alternative papers than mainstream communications. We didn't feel comfortable depending on corporate-owned newspapers to promote our events. We were suspicious of how they would paint Earth Day. And we were right. Although, our activities did make it into the Milwaukee Journal and Sentinel (the monopoly-owned evening and morning papers), the politics were often stripped from the articles. Mainstream media focused on personal life-style changes and environmental celebrities like Gaylord Nelson. Not once was our event described as a grass-roots endeavor of over 50 organizations. The media had our press packets, but declined to print the endorsing groups. This alone, changed the character of what we were trying to accomplish. For these reasons and more, we relied on alternative newsprint. We placed PSA and paid ads, as well as articles in a couple dozen community newsletters and newspapers. This, in conjunction with our over 40,000 leaflets and posters, built Earth Day.

Outreach Efforts

Union participation proved very successful. The Milwaukee Labor Council (comprised of AFL-CIO unions) endorsed our activity, a very rare act. They contributed funds and promoted the parade and festival through their newsletters. Union participation in the parade and festival was a real boon for Earth Day.

We involved schools and children's groups like the Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts and Children's Outing Association vis-a-vis the parade. We put out a two page project sheet that offered quick and fun suggestions for what kids could make. Ideas included head dresses of birds and fishes, giant flowers, totem poles, costumes, peace cranes and other environmental creations. This idea really took off. It inspired artists to bring beautiful tie-dye banners, rain forest displays and a 40 foot long "Laughing Lake" puppet that adorned the parade with streams of purple, blue and green natural fibers.

We made a special point of conducting outreach beyond Milwaukee's white middle-class communities. This was primarily done through the festival, where we booked diverse speakers and performers. We worked with the Black community through the Inner City Arts Council, and the Native American community through United Indians of Milwaukee. We booked Encuentro, a popular hispanic band. The feminist and lesbian communities participated as speakers and performers on Earth Day, and were instrumental in organizing the Holly Near/Claudia Schmidt Benefit Concert on April 23rd. At the Earth Day festival, the stages truly reflected our outreach efforts. Audiences enjoyed gospel, reggae, Native American folk, rhythm and blues, women's music, Native American dance and drum, salsa, Irish music, and speakers from assorted communities.

Volunteers

Earth Day volunteers, themselves, posed challenges to our organization. For many, this was the first political event they participated in. This created a unique situation: we had hundreds of volunteers we could call on, but not enough trained organizers to do the calling and coordinating. The handful of experienced organizers were not just heading up areas of work; they were training leaders. This required lots of time, patience and trust. We had to take time to involve people, and walk volunteers through step-by-step processes so they could learn how to organize. It was inspiring and empowering to see grass-roots folks come together, learn from one another, and develop by leaps and bounds. This experience reaffirmed our belief that people can collectively organize and win. We were able to beat the odds of time, money and inexperience to build an event that we'll all remember for years to come.

The Aftermath of Earth Day

Earth Day 1990 - Milwaukee has decided to continue as a coalition. The April 22nd Earth Day Parade and Festival provided us with a springboard for further activities. Earth Day is now a household name in Milwaukee, and our group continues to grow. New people are attending our meetings, taking on areas of work, and helping to set the course of the organization. We are now in a position to begin ongoing, grass-roots organizing. We have decided to embark on a community based anti-toxics campaign to educate Milwaukeeans about the hazards of toxics, and to start involving communities in toxic clean up efforts. The long-term goal is to stop toxic pollution at its source. We are initiating this campaign with three projects. One, we are working closely with the Environmental Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival. The Mobe is currently circulating an excellent informational piece which pinpoints 100 toxic sites in the city of Milwaukee. The Mobe is still in the process of strategizing how and where it will begin its anti-toxics organizing. Once this is decided, we will wholeheartedly endorse the effort. In the interim, Earth Day has embarked on two other projects. We have targeted a tanning company, Pfister-Vogel, as our first toxic clean up site. This company, which is located along the Milwaukee River, is the 13th worst polluter in the state. In 1988, it released 1,383,233 pounds of toxics into the environment. Our other project is closely related. We will be organizing an environmental tour along the Milwaukee River, showing people the preserved areas, fallow lands, and polluted sites (such as Pfister-Vogel). Earth Day was just the beginning. It was a success because it significantly increased environmental awareness in our community. Now we have the opportunity to take this awareness and use it towards long-term changes that will truly impact the environment.



Building

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This question requires a shift in our thinking. All too often it gets minimized into the question of how do we take green ideas to those at the bottom? But of course, this is the wrong question. We need to ask how do we imbue our own politics with the perceptions and creativity of those who are suffering most? This is not a question of "support." It is a question of engagement, of forging an understanding of the real connections of the crisis of our earth and the crisis of our people. As long as the greens remain a predominantly white, middle class movement, they will remain marginal in the country, marginal because they are evading the questions that are tearing at the heart of who we are and the kind of country we are becoming.

Ask yourself, if we ignore the homeless sleeping in the street, if we ignore the deaths of children by guns and drugs, if we ignore the tragedy of lives wasted without work or meaning, if we ignore the hungry, are we really any different from those who ignored the slag piling up every day? If on the other hand, we begin to see that the crisis in the daily lives of people is not a separate issue, but the deepest reflection of the environmental crisis, we can see that by addressing these questions, we will ultimately be confronting "environmental" questions as well. The crisis is so pervasive, that wherever we begin, we are ultimately lead to questions of ecology and the environment. But we will come to them very differently because we start from a more urgent point.

The best example I can give you of this dynamic is the fortunate situation we had in Detroit that developed around casino gambling. Now, no one would consider casino gambling an environmental issue. But in Detroit, where we are faced with tremendous unemployment, casino gambling was put forward by our Mayor as a scheme to revitalize the economy and create jobs. Throughout the city, many different kinds of people, at a gut level, felt this was wrong. Particularly ministers who are faced daily with the destruction of people who are irrelevant, and who hold themselves responsible for the moral climate of people, could see that the atmosphere and kind of jobs that come with casinos would only further destroy us. So a coalition came together of ministers, local

political leaders, workers, intellectuals, neighborhood groups, community organizers and hopeful politicians, all united in our conviction that casinos should be stopped. Much to our surprise, we won this struggle. Voters at a rate of two to one went against the mayor, and against heavy advertising. But with this victory, we all soon realized that it was not enough to oppose schemes, we had to propose some real alternatives, we had to open up some real options for people or we would be faced with the same sort of question again, because the conditions that made us vulnerable to such quick fix schemes would remain. So we now have to seriously talk about rebuilding our city, of creating a new ethical and moral climate for work, for the development of our young, for the protection and safety of all our people. We are talking very concretely about the need for small scale production, about local and regional economies—about the possibility of creating local bakeries and breweries, about recycling leaves for compost, about glass production, gardens, skills and crafts of all kinds. Out of necessity, we have to look at creating a way of living that can sustain us and the earth.

Second, we know that creating a new future means we have to be about a lot more than confronting an external enemy. In the past, many of the questions we faced were external to us. While many of us were changed in the course of these movements, our changing was a byproduct of our struggle. Now our primary questions are not against institutions or policies. Our primary questions go to the very depths of who we are as people, to the core of our way of living, our ways of thinking and acting.

The most graphic example of this change that I can give you came from an experience where the mothers of SOSAD were to meet Maria Teresa Tule, who was an organizer for Co-Madres, the mothers of the "disappeared" in El Salvador. At the end of Senora Tule's speech, she looked out at the audience and in the name of her children, in the name of all the children who had been killed, asked that we ask our government to stop sending money and guns to her country. When she was finished, I couldn't help but ask what could we say to stop the killing of our children? We can't say stop what our government is doing? To whom do we appeal when our children are killed by other children over jackets, tennis shoes and childhood quarrels?

We have truly come to the end of a paradigm. The comfortable ways of thinking we have about situations, about categories, about what is "correct", all need to be re-evaluated. And this, too, has strategic implications.

First, we need to go beyond either or thinking. The clear divisions between politics and spirituality, between economics and culture are no longer valid. Rather new connections and interdependencies are emerging. And, even as we use these old definitions as touchstones, we need to stretch ourselves. Economics means we have to think in terms of local, national and international strategies; politics means thinking about direct action, referenda, petitions and elections; and culture means creating ways of being that are inclusive and expansive.

Second we need to move beyond science. The sense of objectivity and of the objective world, which once liberated thought, has reached its limits. Knowledge, seen as something outside ourselves, has to also be located now within us. We need to reclaim trust in our own feelings and intuitions, to find ways to acknowledge the spirit within all things. We have had enough experience to know that rational processes, devoid of such spiritual connectedness, can be invoked to justify anything. If we are to create a truly ethical society, we have to begin with this kind of fundamental understanding of our connectedness.

Third, we need to move beyond polemics. We need to be governed by a generosity of spirit, a spirit of openness and tolerance, to understand that this is a time of experimentation and exploration. It is perhaps a time when we need more of the artist than of the political analyst.

What are the things that get in our way?

First, while we have inherited many lessons from the movements of the 60s we have also inherited a terrible cynicism. Many of us who once had confidence in ourselves and others have grown hard. Not knowing exactly what to do, we have decided we can do nothing. And thus we risk allowing our own humanity to erode. We have forgotten that our decision to give up, to lose faith in the capacity of people to grow and change and create is also an action with consequences.

Second, is anti-communism. Many in the Green movement have felt that we should distance ourselves from socialist and "leftist" groups. Now, just to be honest about

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set the record straight. Whatever their limitations—and there are many—nonetheless, communists and socialists and left organizations have been the most consistent force for social change on behalf of those who are dispossessed in this society. They deserve our respect because of the historic struggles they have carried out. But more importantly, in an apolitical culture, it is these groups where we find people who care passionately for ideas, who engage in intense critical debate about the nature of our country. It is this capacity for critical thinking that we must take to heart. All of us know this to be true. We know that the moment we start to voice even the smallest criticism of our country, someone before long comes along and calls us "communist." The phrase is always invoked to stifle criticism.

Third, are racism and sexism. All too often women and people of color are "added on" to what we have already decided as important. Precisely because they are "locked" out of the center of industrial culture, precisely because they bear its greatest burden, they have a fundamentally different view of what needs to be done and how it needs to be done. This means being willing to give up "control" in a basic way, to admit, that perhaps what we see as the most important issue or the best way to proceed, isn't that at all. Our issues, our actions and our vision will be enriched when we shift our way of thinking to engage with others in creating strategies, rather than taking them to them.

So, where do we begin?

First, strategy needs to begin on the local level. It is on the local level where we can engage in direct interaction with one another, where we can create the kind of relationships that require accountability, where we can see the connection between the decisions we make and their consequences. Look at your community and ask what is most clearly affecting those at the bottom? How are people responding? What can you do to become involved?

But, of course, local action is not enough. Clearly national action is important. It gives a cohesion to local actions and enlarges their meaning. We need to find ways to intervene in the national dialogue about our collective future. The effect of the lack of this intervention was clear in the last election. We allowed the question of the environment to be controlled by George Bush. Now you can

excuse this all you want by blaming his slick media strategies for this, but in fact, we have to ask where were the national demonstrations and mobilizations demanding that environmental issues be taken seriously? Where were the groups meeting candidates, disrupting meetings, forcing discussions of the crisis we face. Clearly we had no strategic sense of how to intervene to expand and frame national discourse.

At the same time, on a national level, at least through the primary, we have the example of how Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition were able to change the nature of the discussion in the democratic campaign. Jackson constantly pushed forward the perspective of the dispossessed and enlarged all of us. With the rainbow we have the opportunity of creating a strategic alliance, to combine local and national concerns by involving ourselves in the one political force that is voicing concerns for those at the bottom. This alliance would not only help "green" the rainbow, but it would put greens in political relationships in concrete and real terms.

Finally, on the cultural level we face a new opportunity. For the first time we can consciously choose to create our culture, our ways of living and being together. We can no longer continue with a culture that demands we deny what we know, that fosters our ability to ignore what we see, to hope that others will fix it, to think science has some cure. Rather we need to create a culture that encourages us to look honestly at what we have created, to take responsibility for ourselves and the earth, that affirms our feelings and intuitions, that respects critical dialogue, and that is rooted in the traditions that have enabled us to maintain our dignity. To live lives of integrity and create a future for our children, we need to speak to one another of our deepest fears and longings as well as to share our dreams and visions. These choices are now ours.

Pulling Down

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racism and economics." Environmental organizations must broaden their scope. Grassroots environmentalists are aware that dumpsites and polluting industries are targeted for low-income communities. They know racial and economic factors dictate siting decisions. (details in *Toxic Race and Race in the US*, United Church of Christ, Commission for Racial Justice, 105 Madison Ave., NYC 10016 and in CCHW's [#54] *Polluters' Secret Plan*) Polluters know low-income communities not only lack power, but also have lots of other concerns on their minds. Where such communities are organized, their organizations often have issues on their agenda that supersede those we define as "environmental." "All we're looking for is a dialogue with environmental groups," says Miguel Guerrero of the Southwest Organizing Project, "These groups have never had a social justice agenda. We want them to sit at the table and listen to why we cannot be single issue." Thus, if we are to build an effective, broad-based environmental justice movement, we must discuss these issues within a broader framework of how environmental issues are connected with day-to-day survival and social justice issues.

"You cannot have a truly healthy environment without justice," asserts Charles Lee, author of *Toxic Waste and Race in the US*. "No real pressure is brought on polluters as long as there is a strata of the population that can be dumped on. Racism (and environmental racism) is not simply prejudice—it is prejudice, plus power. Without recognition of the power relationship between industry and the communities where dumps are located, environmental groups will not achieve their goals." Dr. Barry Commoner, keynote speaker at CCHW's Grassroots Convention '89, agrees that "there's a functional relationship between poverty, racism, powerlessness and the chemical

Sharon Howell & Margo Adair have just released a new pamphlet:

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putting politics into process

Available for \$5.00 from
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The Subjective Side
of
Politics

TOOLS FOR CHANGE
P.O. BOX 14141
S.F., CA 94114

industry's assault on the environment."

Barrier #8 , "You have to let these things happen naturally." Your group will be more effective, and credible, if your issues genuinely reflect the views of *all* people directly affected by them. As Gwen Patton noted, environmental groups must take the time to involve people of color. Integration doesn't happen unless people decide to make it happen. "If you live in a multi-racial community and your organization isn't multi-racial, then your group has a serious problem," says Will Collette, CCHW's National Organizing Director, "this puts you at a significant disadvantage that your opponents can exploit."

Barrier #9 , "I'm too busy and don't have time to chase after people." This defense is raised to excuse not only the failure to recruit people of color, but the failure to recruit new members in general. Often, local leaders seem to prefer digging up "magic facts" or technical experts rather than doing basic recruitment to build their group's power. As Hubert Dixon observed, "environmental groups are often more willing to contact strangers from out of town rather than their own neighbors."

Also hidden in this defense is some serious discomfort in talking to people from a different race or culture. Many white people feel ill-prepared and uncomfortable when they talk to people of color. That's reality. Issues of race and economics ARE uncomfortable and they force people to walk in unfamiliar territory. But, to build strong organizations in multi-racial communities, white environmentalists must be brave enough to "cross borders and deal with uncomfortable feelings," as Ann Bastian of the New World Foundation suggests. When white environmentalists start dealing with people of color, "they feel out of place and uncomfortable," Bastian continues, "They then begin to experience what racism feels like. Environmentalists must consciously address these unfamiliar feelings and issues at all levels of their organizations in order to build a strong movement."

It's OK to feel uncomfortable about meeting with people of color and talking about issues of racism and economic oppression. It's a challenge. Be honest about

your feelings and be clear that your organization wants to broaden its scope and include these issues.

Barrier #10 , "Race is not the issue...."

No matter how much we may try to convince ourselves of this, race is a BIG issue in the way industry and government behaves. There are measurable differences in the way pollution issues hit communities that are directly tied to race and economic status. Further, to many people of color, "environment" is, quite frankly, seen as a white people's issue. This perspective is based on history. "The traditional environmental movement developed to protect the recreational needs of its

upper-class constituents—it was more luxury oriented," states Charles Lee. Lee also notes traditional environmentalists evolved from these origins into a movement that hasn't seriously addressed pollution issues in the back yards of low-income people of color. Lee observed, "they didn't really feel a need to address these issues." Adding to the tension between traditional environmental groups and communities of color is the presence of people like Dean Buntrock on the National Wildlife Federation board. Buntrock heads Waste Management, Inc. which operates the world's largest hazardous waste dump in majority black, low-income Sumter County, AL.

Grassroots environmentalists have raised the call for justice in everyone's backyard. "Environmental justice" is a meaningless term unless it includes a commitment to *social justice*. This requires foresight. This requires vision. And if we're really concerned for our children's future, we must reach out and build a *united* multi-racial movement that includes *all* victims of pollution. This is a challenge we cannot ignore.

My thanks to Ann Bastian, Gwen Patton, Hubert Dixon, Miquel Guerrero, Vickie McCullough of Native Americans for a Clean Environment and Charles Lee for their invaluable help.

Clay Carter is Senior Field Organizer for the Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste. Excerpted from Everyone's Back Yard, published by Citizen's Clearinghouse for Hazardous waste, PO Box 926, Arlington VA 22216.

Myles Horton

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equality experience based on the belief that only action would change people's attitudes toward one another.

• All the time Highlander was involved in the Citizenship School program, we insisted that while voter registration was a great goal, voting wouldn't do the job alone. We don't hold with those who say that you mustn't challenge people, that you have to be very cautious and tell them that if they take this first step, they'll win. That's an insulting thing to say to a person. We say, "That's the first step, but it's only the first step. If you're black, white folks aren't going to pay any attention to you even if you can vote. Sure, get in there and vote, but then you've got to demonstrate...."

We believed this all had to be done by black people for themselves in order for it to be educationally sound.

• ...we saw problems that we thought we had the answers to, rather than seeing the problems and the answers that the people had themselves. That was our basic mistake. Once you understand that, you don't have to have answers, and you can open up new ways of doing things....

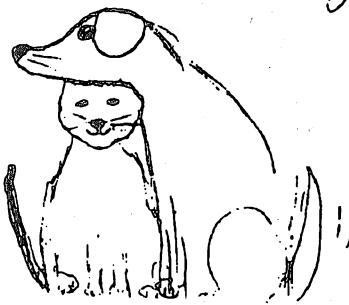
• Another idea we didn't fully understand is that one of the best ways of educating people is to give them an experience that embodies what you are trying to teach.

• ...you can't talk a technical language that's only understood among a certain people if you're going to be with the masses of people.

• ...[it prepared me] to be in the circle of learners and to respect other people's ideas. As well as giving ideas, I was receiving ideas, and this helped convince people that I sincerely respected all they had to contribute.

• The McColl textile workers who wanted to organize were a little more willing to gamble than the other people at the mill. They weren't the lowest paid, they weren't the black or Native Americans who had the dirtiest jobs and got only half what the white people got; they were machinists, weavers, and semi-skilled people who might be able to find another job. Basically, they had more self-respect. They knew they were being exploited, and they resented it more. Now those people you build on.... you have to start with those people who have a little more security and self-confidence and help

if Dogs and cats can
be friends too...
then so can you!



Is 18yrs old age 11

them organize the other workers....

...I didn't sign any of them up myself. I asked other workers to do that so it would be their union from the start. I'd collect the cards and count them, and keep them, but they got the signatures. People would come to me while I read in the shade of a tree and ask, "Can I sign one of these cards?" And I'd say, "Yeah, I don't have any here, but you go talk to so-and-so." I made them go through the other workers because I wanted them to relate to their own people.

• ...you don't have to work out your problems alone, one by one. When people get involved in a movement they must take sides, and in the struggle, individual problems become less important or disappear altogether.

• It's only in a movement that an idea is often made simple enough and direct enough that it can spread rapidly. Then your leadership multiplies very rapidly, because there's something explosive going on. People see that other people not so different from themselves do things that they thought could never be done. They're emboldened and challenged by that to step into the water, and once they get in the water, it's as if they've never not been there.

• A large social movement forces people to take a stand for or against it, so that there are no longer any neutrals. You've got to be on one side or the other. It's true that it forces some people to be worse than they would be, more violent than they would be, but it also forces some people to get behind the cause and work for it and even die for it. People have to understand that you can't make progress without pain, because you can't make progress without provoking violent

opposition.

- Social movements aren't subject to accurate record keeping. You can't reduce them to statistics.
- In a social movement we are clearly part of a collective struggle that encourages us to increase our demands. One of the dynamic aspects of a social movement as opposed to an organization is that quite often in the latter, you'll bargain down to make concessions in order to survive.... In a social movement the demands escalate, because your success encourages and emboldens you to demand more.

- During movement times, the people involved have the same problems and can go from one community to the next, start a conversation in one place and finish it in another.

Now we're in what I call an organizational period, which has limited objectives, doesn't spread very rapidly and has a lot of paid people and bureaucracy. It's completely different from what takes place when there is a social movement. During organization times you try to anticipate a social movement, and if it turns out that you've guessed right, then you'll be on the inside of a movement helping with the mobilization and strategies, instead of on the outside jumping on the bandwagon and never being an important part of it. You try to figure out what's going to happen so that you can position yourself in such a way as to become part of it: you do things in advance to prepare the groundwork for a larger movement. That way you're built into it when the momentum begins. It's like learning to ride freight trains.

- I have a holistic view of the educative process. The universe is one: nature and mind and spirit and the heavens and time and the future all are part of the big ball of life. Instead of thinking that you put pieces together that will add up to a whole, I think you have to start with the premise that they're already together and you try to keep from destroying life by segmenting it, overorganizing it and dehumanizing it.

- It is important to distinguish between this goal of freedom and self-governance and the goals of people who want only to "Save the whales" or to "Desegregate the South" or to organize a labor union. Those aren't necessarily long-range social goals. I don't mean they're antisocial, but the goal I'm talking about is one that can never be reached. It's a direction, a concept of society that grows as

you go along. You could go out of business if you were only for saving the whales: you'd save them, then you'd be out of work. That would be the end of it. It's not that I'm against saving the whales. I'm all for it, but the reason for saving whales is that they are a part of life, and you want to save life.

Green Ecology

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SPA KA conference. He is a Guamanian, one who has experience in community organizing in Native American and Chicano communities. When I asked him his honest opinion of the conference, he said he felt frustrated and wondered why he had been invited. He was not convinced that we Greens are sincere in our rhetoric. In addition, he felt the real issues got lost in all the "isms" that were bandied about at the conference. His view was that the individuals in the communities where he worked would feel left out and uncomfortable in most of our discussions.

We keep asking what we can do to expand our movement to include the diversity we say we respect. Yet, groups we seek to embrace keep repeating an answer we keep ignoring. As we disperse to our workshops and our strategy sessions to address our principles, we go loaded with a convoluted, elitist lingo and our own brand of name dropping that separates us from those we wish to include. We discuss the problems of moving beyond a predominantly Caucasian, middle class, intellectual Green movement in a jargon that excludes the very people we say we want to attract.

Let us welcome the advice of our invited guests. It is time we start to realize that the listening is not natural in our culture and society. It needs to be learned by most of us and practiced all the time. We must quit seeing ourselves as great teachers and spend time as humble students of those, unlike ourselves, who have so much to offer. It is time we start letting all those we speak for, speak for themselves... and to us.

As we organize our next SPA KA conference, we need to build upon our Eugene experience in order to become more diverse. We need more workshops and forums that

are not primarily organized and facilitated by Caucasians. We need to identify more groups and individuals that can teach us about cultures we need to connect with and contribute to mutual sharing, learning, and planning. We need to develop a Green ecology of communication by also interacting with others on their turf, learning and using their modes of communication. In other words, we need to reveal through our actions, not just our clever verbiage, how truly genuine we are in seeking to collaborate with others so as to expand and strengthen the Green Movement and to diffuse it into the broad network of cultures that is the United States of America.

empowers people to ask fundamental questions, change their own lives, analyze the root causes of problems and directly challenge the institutions that are responsible.

In the U.S. there is a growing tendency for Greens to do their work outside the structures of the Green Committees of Correspondence. We had to create a whole new coalition for the Wall Street action, one which helped forge some long sought-after alliances and is likely to continue to thrive. Greens focused primarily on electoral activism are forming a Green Party Organizing Committee and founding several state parties, also independent of the GCoC. Many Greens who are deeply involved in local community efforts around the country have long since stopped paying national dues. The Interregional Committee has become an increasingly self-perpetuating entity, ever consumed with passing new rules for itself and debating who should and who should not belong. People seeking to create a real public presence for Green politics are increasingly finding the IC to be an obstacle rather than an aid to their work, despite the best efforts of most delegates and of the Clearinghouse staff.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to be confident that there is a well-defined Green movement in this country and that it is fully represented by any one organizational entity. This could be a necessary step in the evolution of a Green idea into a genuine Green movement, but it could also accelerate a slide toward factionalism and dissolution such as has continually plagued social movements in this country. One can only hope that Greens following different paths can preserve the solidarity and sense of mutual support we have evolved over the past six years, maintain vital networks, publications and gatherings on the regional and national levels, and explore the creative tensions between different tendencies in a spirit of diversity and mutual respect. Existing structures will need to adapt to changing circumstances as Green activism continues to grow and mature in all its myriad forms. We have come a long way, and we all know just how much is at stake.

Copies of the Earth Day Wall Street Action Handbook are still available. Sixty-eight pages of provocative analysis, issues, corporate profiles and more. Send \$2 (including postage and handling, \$1 each for orders of 10 or more) to Earth Day Wall Street Action, Box 1128 Old Chelsea Station, New York, NY 10011.



Earth Day

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have been advocating for many years have clearly reached the mainstream, to the point where major corporations, book publishers, and ad agencies are all scrambling to cash in on "Green consumer" faddism. Concern for the future of the earth has spread to the point where over 70% of those polled by the New York Times agreed that the environment must be protected, "even if it means increased government spending and higher taxes." Fifty six percent agreed, "even if it means jobs in the local community are lost." The term "Green" has been appropriated to describe products, marketing strategies, and voters for candidates of the major parties. Those of us who understand that Green means more than just buying different products have a tremendous job ahead if we want to continue to be heard above the noise.

A real movement means more than just organizations, conferences and political programs. It means an emerging popular sensibility that translates directly into activism on many levels. It requires a wide spectrum of organizations, but also a widespread activism that goes beyond the limitations of those organizations. A social movement

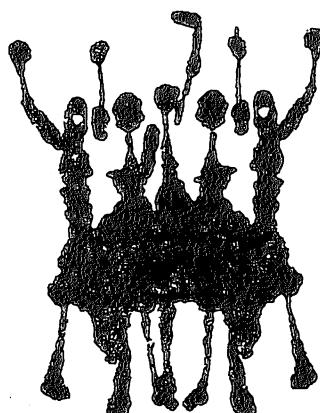
Instant Green Party

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munity leadership within an economic base resisting multinational privatization and through education, develop ecological wisdom within a post patriarchal process, which can lead to a community controlled state green party.

Without issues being at the forefront of political action, without a party emerging from the ground up which recognizes human rights as part and parcel of ecological rights, there is no hope for change. Those who seek a party, which does not have at its beginnings progressive diversity are stuck in individualism and old ways. The Greens have a role to play in the new society, but they are going to have to work at it, not steal it. They are clearly latecomers to a grassroots movement which already exists, not only in the hearts and minds of the few writing in national publications, but in the people.

I, for one, want a socialist perspective, one that means our land, our basic energy systems, health care and education belong to the people, and must be socially planned as if the earth mattered. But I also want democracy, not more of the same bought and paid for political theatre obscuring sources of wealth which should be redirected so as to create a healthy planet and benefit human society, not sucked up for a special few to rape and pillage at will. We need new ways of production that are not polluting, and an economic system which frees us to our full humanity. In the meantime we must work hard at change. That work includes electoral politics, but not this kind. The California State Green Party, as constituted, with its lack of responsibility to the movement does not meet our expectations for a proper party; it is retread which is bound to blow up at the next tough place in the road.



Wait

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2. The failure of process has meant that vital questions—ones that have agitated Greens in other parts of the world—have been ignored or swept aside, as least as far as the Westside (and other) chapters are concerned. What are the advantages of starting a California Green Party at this particular moment? What are the disadvantages? Is it viable given the still embryonic stage of the movement? Do we have the resources to sustain it? Will efforts to build a party now deflect from the energies and resources of the local groups? What is the overall relationship between party and movement? How can we learn from the experiences of Green parties in other countries? Of third parties in the U.S.? Unfortunately none of these questions have even been posed, let alone debated.

3. This absence of democratic process was clearly reflected at the March 24-25th meeting where, despite strong vocal opposition, defenders of the party idea vowed to push ahead and held a small meeting at Ecohome Sunday evening, followed by a press conference Monday morning. The guiding spirit seemed to be one of renewed commitment to a statewide party despite the many reservations expressed—and let's not worry about those recalcitrant souls who failed to see the light. Whatever happened to the hallowed Green principles? To the cherished ideal of democratic participation? One would have thought that a more logical, and sensitive, response would have been to reconsider the idea, take the matter back to the COCs, have an energetic grassroots discussion—and then proceed to set up the machinery for exploring the party idea further. What is so threatening about an exchange of views?

4. In the absence of anything resembling a consensus, pro-party Greens seem to have come up with their own ingenious solution: separate the party from the local organizations. The goal apparently is to set up an autonomous legal and administrative entity, permitting party leaders to take care of electoral business while the COCs are left to pursue their own grassroots agendas. This is a rather manipulative tactic, countering as it does the established Green principle of party accountability to the local movement as well as the stated purpose of the California

Green Assembly that were introduced at the L.A. meeting. It is also dangerous in the extreme, for it virtually guarantees a narrow electoral, bureaucratic course for the Green Party and a dispersion (demoralization?) of the local COCs. In each case the grassroots vitality of the Greens is weakened if not destroyed. It all adds up to a concept of the party not very different from that of the

combinations of electoral work with direct actions."

We can't emphasize enough the fact that California Greens have scarcely begun to meet this challenge. Where are the successful local candidates? Where are the community-based alliances? Where are the local resources? Where are our political programs and electoral platforms? What



Democrats and Republicans. Is this what the majority of California Greens really want? Doesn't this negate what attracted so many of us to Green politics in the first place? As the SPAKA statement makes clear, "The party must grow out of and be accountable to the movement as a whole. Lone candidates or skeletal parties with no grassroots base risk marginalization, dilution of identity and cooptations."

5. Aside from these problems of internal process and grassroots democracy, there is a serious strategic objection: for many reasons, we are not yet ready to establish a statewide party. The requirements for success—a broad local base, technical, financial, and human resources, experienced candidates, electoral platforms, etc.—are all totally lacking. Moreover, to start now would pretty much ensure that these essentials would always remain outside our grasp because of our lack of credibility—as the case of the Citizens Party shows. Electoral politics is a necessary part of Green strategy, but to be effective must begin at the local level, where we can run candidates for city council seats, rent-control boards, school boards and so forth. This allows us to establish some levers of power, gain experience in day-to-day political and administrative work, expand our resources, create networks of community support, and build local alliances—with labor, minorities, and various social movements. Here again the SPAKA documents are clear: "Elections are important, especially at the local level, but are not the centerpiece of our strategy at this time. We should not undertake electoral campaigns until we have laid the groundwork with like-minded groups in our community. We support creative

Green COCs even have office space? And California, we need to remember, is a huge geopolitical entity that is larger than most countries in the world in terms of area, resources and population.

6. If a California Green Party were duly established, what would the people of the state see? They would see a tiny group of white, middle class environmentalists who, it is true, occasionally refer to other issues or talk about making holistic connections. They would see a party with no hope of winning against Republican and Democratic candidates in single-member, winner-take-all districts. They would not see a party with roots in local communities, labor, minority or women's groups. This image, which would be reproduced endlessly by the mass media, would remain as a stigma—a stigma that would no doubt preclude further growth. The SPAKA statement urges Greens to become part of a "rainbow coalition from below"—an excellent strategy, but what happens when the uniformly white Greens encounter a revitalized Rainbow Coalition in 1992? How would this competition be viewed by blacks? Latinos? Women? Labor? We would be sunk before getting out of the harbor.

7. Assuming that a state Green Party is set up and candidates run for office, what will happen when the inevitable lopsided defeats begin to pile up? What will we have to show for our enormous expenditure of resources and time? How could Green activists hope to avoid the demoralization that wrecked the Citizens Party and the Peace and Freedom Party? Like these other failures, the Greens will offer people an image only of defeat and hopelessness—not the sense of

empowerment and optimism that we need to confront the social and ecological crisis. On the other hand, a series of victories in local politics (where, incidentally, the winner-take-all dynamic does not apply) would give us precisely the kind of momentum we need. It is worth remembering that Greens elsewhere—even without the tremendous electoral obstacles we face—typically began by building from the ground up, winning local elections before moving on to the national level.

8. One debilitating result of a statewide party would be the draining of resources away from local COCs. The Westside Greens have made great advances during the past year or so and we all know that our potential for creating a durable political presence is very good. Yet, even if we committed our energies and resources to only local activity we know that the tasks and challenges ahead are perhaps more than we can handle. There are basic needs that any political organiza-

tion must meet if it is to be successful. Nobody has to be convinced that such activities require enormous amounts of time, people, energy and money! We know there are important things to do, but we also feel overwhelmed just thinking about them. Under these circumstances, can anyone seriously believe that we are ready to move on to the state level at this moment in our history? Putting together a state party, on even a minimal basis, means getting signatures, raising money, dealing with the state bureaucracy, attending statewide meetings, developing literature, selecting candidates, and many other things. We hope that some day we will be in a position to meet this challenge. For now, however, it is nothing short of fantasy. Still, any effort in that direction will seriously detract from our local resources, and thus undermine our grassroots presence. The counter-argument that building a state party will actually strengthen the COCs is a weak one, because it assumes,

wrongly, that the strategy itself is a viable one and that local Green groups are firmly established with abundant resources.

These issues need to be raised and debated fully before the organizational and technical details of a statewide party are pursued any further. A respect for Green politics demands nothing less. We in the United States have a pronounced tendency to view politics as the search for a quick fix, immediate electoral victories, and as much media exposure as possible. The Greens, of course, stand for a completely different model of social change. Yet in California the Greens are in danger of falling into the same strategic trap that foiled so many third parties in the past. The establishment of a statewide party now will, sooner or later, undermine our grassroots vitality, take us down the path of electoral failures, and destroy the very essence of Green politics. We must reverse this process while there is still time!

Strategic Argument

continued from page 14

to be among the broadest and most inclusive. Political, social, and environmental activism and lobbying is very different from establishing a political party and running candidates. Even at its height, the GCoC will not be an electoral political organization.

Let's examine what's happened in Europe, where there are already successful Green parties. In Europe there is no GCoC. There are only Green parties and the movement. The grassroots base from which the parties grew was the politically-motivated portion of that movement. Clearly there is a comparable base in California from which to begin. Simply because the GCoC does not constitute the entirety of it ought not to confuse us as to its existence....

But can it be organized? Or more importantly, will the prospect of a Green Party attract the ethnic and cultural diversity of today's California?

Experience so far has been positive and reason suggests it will continue. In the brief month and a half (April-mid May) since focused outreach began, there has been a significant connection with both Native and African-Americans. A "people of color caucus," co-chaired by a Native American, has begun and will help us bridge with many individuals and groups.

The Green Party offers an immediate common ground in the form of electoral opportunity. The GCoC has a lot of overlap with other groups in terms of issues and turf. But the Green Party is something very different and very new—an equal opportunity for many different elements of society to come together and create an electoral expression, finally, for the values that already unite us....

Another concern is that unless a Green Party follows a predominantly linear path from municipal to state, it will fail. The early European Green parties did run first on the municipal and regional levels and then later at the federal. Part of this was because they were building a new organization. But part of it was that they were also creating and building a new identity.

As people became better educated about what Green is however, things began to change. Greens became better able to run at many levels simultaneously, even in countries where they'd had little previous electoral success. In 1988 for example, the French Greens (Les Verts) went from obscurity to national prominence by gaining substantial initial representation in municipalities and Parliament in the same year. Across the channel, the UK Green Party, with few municipal successes, went from less than 1% of the vote in 1987 to 15% and 2.3 million votes in the 1989 elections for the European

Parliament. In Moscow, a recent poll by the Soviet Association of the Social Sciences indicates that 74% of those polled are in favor of having a Green Party on future ballots and 16% said they would actually vote for them; and this in a country where there is not even a significant Green Party organization at all.

Today in California the situation is very different than it was for the first European Greens more than ten years ago. Environmental consciousness in the general population is much greater in 1990 than in 1980. So is the prospect for Green electoral politics, in large part due to Europeans' success.

On the other hand, the ecological crisis is far worse than before and as Earth Day tragically demonstrated, so is the potential for co-optation of the Green message.

The European Greens slowly built an identity where there was none. In today's California, Earth Day brought us 'Green lifestyle books' while corporations brought us Earth Day; and Democrats Hayden and Van de Kamp brought us the 'Big Green' environmental initiative. If this isn't enough to confuse the Green message, in the two years preceding 1990, the Green Party name in California was held with the Secretary of State by the Silo/Green Future organization and was scheduled for re-approval consideration once again.

Most members of the Green Party Orga-

nizing Committee (GPOC) believe that simultaneous state and local electoral campaigns will invigorate each other as well as the movement; and that together with Green Party state ballot initiatives they can form a political dynamic that will not only define Green to the public, but will lay the foundation for the reorientation of California politics as a whole.

3) Accountability: Once it is understood that the Green Party is not an organizational extension of the GCoC, but rather a political expression of the entire Green movement (expressed through the choices of registered Green voters) then questions of accountability will no longer be couched exclusively in terms of Green Party-GCoC.

At present all that exists is the Green Party Organizing Committee (GPOC). The Green Party itself will not exist until sufficient (approximately 80,000) registrations are gathered to qualify it. At this point the Party would hold its first convention. This is expected to happen in early 1992.

Until then, recognizing that success requires the involvement of the entire movement from early on, the GPOC has drafted provisional GPOC by-laws that allow for open participation and accountable group process for all those who want to participate in the party formation. One of the charges of this group will be to draft actual Green Party by-laws to provide for the most grassroots process possible for Green Party members to draft platforms, choose candidates, and the like. If this endeavor is successful, then the Green Party can be said to be accountable to its members and the movement.

These are the most substantive questions regarding the feasibility of forming the Green Party of California. A few other misconceptions about its prospects remain, however, and need to be addressed briefly.

Some fear that because there is no local electoral base (only one California Green elected so far to a city council), the Green Party is therefore condemned to a top-down strategy on a collision course with disaster. Of course the analogy to Barry Commoner's 1980 Citizens' Party Presidential campaign for California Greens would be for the entire Green Party to be built around a single gubernatorial candidacy of a famous individual. This is hardly the case. Actually, most GPOC members anticipate a modest number of state assembly candidates in 1992,

along with possibly 2 state ballot initiatives, one environmental and one for proportional representation.

A truly successful Green Party will take several years to build. But this process cannot occur unless it begins. The GCoC/larger green movement confusion about a sufficient grassroots base obscures the fact that when this process begins, alliances will build on all "levels", local, regional, and state. In order that this growth be allowed to express itself organically, it must be allowed to flourish wherever it has the most viability, whether it be in a particular town, city, or assembly district.

The argument that a party formation will drain resources from the locals is short-sighted. While it is true that in the short run many talented individuals may place more energy in party formation than in their locals, a healthy and successful movement is in part defined by its ability to find places for the differing interests and talents of its participants (remember respect for diversity?)

Besides, the ascendance of a party will bring vast new participants and resources into the movement. Already after a few short months, Green Party registrants outnumber California GCoC members by 3-to-1. If this interest is also directed into the GCoCs, then those who want to do more than just contribute to platform and candidate formation can be harnessed in the service of the GCoC movement.

In closing, it must be made clear once and for all that a substantial majority of California GCoC members participated in the process to secure the Green Party name from the Siloists and begin the registration drive necessary to qualify the Party and give the coalition-building drive legitimacy, and finally to initiate the various work necessary to assure that the Green Party of California internal structure and process will embody Green democratic principles.

To the tragic detriment of this lofty goal, however, the process by which this all began, like too much of Green local, regional, and IC activity, did not sufficiently reach or involve every GCoC member in the state. Even though a substantial majority had followed process, a healing for those who feel disaffected needs to take place.

However, what was undertaken as a GCoC activity, the formation of the Green Party, was realized in mid-stream by its initiators to be a non-GCoC activity, that is, an independent political party. This is a difficult

and bitter pill to swallow for those who oppose party formation in the first place.

What others can learn from the California experience, be they GCoC or not, is that while a Green Party is an electoral expression of the green movement, it is not identical with it. Those who want to pursue such an undertaking need to gather, identify common goals, and empower themselves to begin, all the while remembering their moral accountability not only to the entire green movement, but to the entire planet as well.



Philippines

continued from page 19

chotomy between state and people. Our new constitution provides that natural resources belong to the state, but in our case, state equals politicians, state does not equal people. This is the whole thing that has resulted in the unjust distribution of resources, forest resources, land resources were given as political patronage and as a source of resources to keep people in power and to buy electoral votes. So the whole feudal cycle is kept by this kind of thing.

For example, in the logging industry, in the past 15 years we have had only 470 logging concessionaires who own all the resources of the forests. What we lost during that time was about eight million hectares of forest. The process created poverty for 17 million people around the forest areas. It is this same kind of social restructuring that is one of the major causes. While nature provides this ecosystem to sustain the community, it has sustained only an elite portion of the community and left a bankrupt social base and poverty in the end.

Monitor: What is the relationship between the environment and the equity issue?

Kalaw: In the Philippines, the biggest drain on the environment is really poverty, as in other Third World countries. Unless, therefore, the social equity issue in natural resources is addressed first, the old issue of

sustainable development cannot be addressed. So you've got a lot of proposals from the technocrats saying, "Well, we can manage the technology that can make forests sustainable." But sustainable for whom? Because if you don't solve it in terms of the people, then the whole cycle of destruction is still there. It will not work.

Monitor: Have you done anything in terms of building coalitions with other organizations?

Kalaw: What we do is network with people's organizations, not NGOs like ourselves. With the Association of Fishermen around Laguna de Bay, small groups of upland dwellers, and the tribal groups. My position is that the tribal issue has been wrongly focused as a minority issue. When we start doing that, the majority is alienated. From an environmental point of view, the tribal issue is a primal issue in terms of who we are, our identity and in terms of the right relationship patterns with the earth that can come from them. So they must be the first beneficiaries of the forest resource simply because it is very important for conservation to know the proper relationship of society and nature. So we are putting the tribals in the forefront of the struggle, since the forest is really their domain.

The second area is among the upland dwellers. My plan is to establish community level cooperatives in small areas, like 5,000 hectares. Our contention is that unless people care for it and benefit from it, you can never conserve the forests. We need to teach communities sustainable resources management of fishing grounds and forest areas.

Monitor: Unlike the American environmental movement, which is mainly composed of members of the middle class, it seems that the Philippine environmental

debate is pitting the poorest sectors of society against moneyed, vested political interests. How are you planning to wage this struggle against the most powerful members of society?

Kalaw: The issue, as I've said before, is social equity, and it is something you cannot ride on unless you do it. We are making the sectors aware that is their right to the resource. The first issue is that the people should benefit. The senate and the executive branch should transfer the resource benefit to the people. For example, cancel all logging concessions and give the resource to communal control. In other words, socialize natural resources. The elite politicians are saying "we are conservationists" but at the same time "please don't take away the resource from us." When people see logging trucks come through owned by the congressmen with military escort—the contradictions are going to get very stark. The politicians can ride on the issue if they want—but only if they do the substantial transfer. And even the NPA (New People's Army) got some of our stuff and included the environmental issue as the 8th point in their new 15-point program.

I don't know how the field people feel about that. There is, in a sense, co-opting on both sides, hopefully. Fine...I think it will be good for all. I think it is also part of the peace process.

Monitor: Are you saying that the environmental politics could be a third way between the sort of right-left polarization that is now taking place?

Kalaw: Yes, it transcends the ideological left or right debate and it is focused on life support systems which are essential

for any type of ideological community to survive. It is also a different way of looking at government. It provides an alternative to looking at hoarding and accumulation as

power and redefines power as the environmental lifeflow.

Monitor: Is it true that you're planning actions against Japan on the logging issue?

Kalaw: We must impress on the First World countries that it is as much their fault for allowing plunder of Third World resources by an elite. One of the major users of these plundered resources is Japan. Countries like Japan that have allowed the importation of plundered resources, especially logs, coral and wildlife, are guilty of plunder pretty much like Marcos. They should pay reparations directly to the community that these resources came from, not to the government.

On the international scale, we're looking at direct action, for example, in terms of blockading the ships in Japan (Tokyo) bay that carry imported logs to Japan. We're scenarioing that with Greenpeace and others so we can have direct action. But basically, this is more symbolic so that the whole process of this flow of plundered goods from third world countries is highlighted.

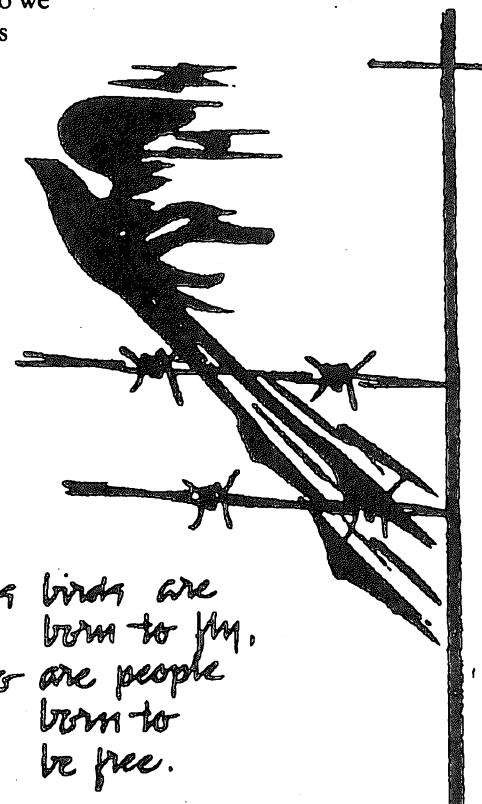
Ireland

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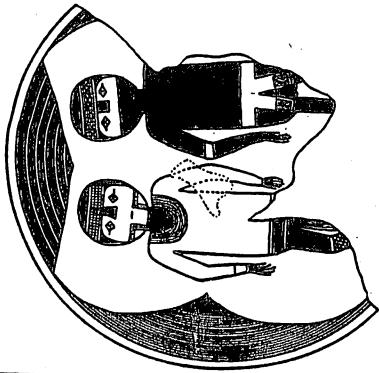
ally backward country which has never felt greatly threatened ecologically. There are few industrial estates blotting the Irish landscape and by 1985, of those people in work (unemployment runs at about 19%), 16% were employed in the agricultural sector and 56% in the service sector. However, the high profile of the European Greens, disturbingly uncharacteristic weather conditions (the Greenhouse Effect), the pollution of the Irish Sea by English nuclear plants such as Sellafield and, most visibly, a thick black smog which frequently shrouds south Dublin in darkness, have all been factors in raising public awareness and concern.

Public opinion regarding these concerns had in fact become so heated by the end of last year that Premier Charles Haughey announced as Ireland took over the European Community presidency for the first half of 1990, that it was to be a "Green" presidency. The Department of the Environment doubled the money available for financial grants for recycling facilities and invited applications from interested businesses. The "Green is Good" campaign was enthusiastically adopted by major supermarkets where "ozone friendly" and "bio degradable packaging"

See "Ireland" page 48



The Green Almanac



July

3 Franz Kafka born, Czechoslovakia, 1883
 4 *National Day of liberty and the pursuit of happiness*
 4 Earth 94,512,258 miles from sun (furthest of the year)
 7 Full Moon
 10 Greenpeace flagship *Rainbow Warrior* bombed by French government agents before nuclear testing protest, 1985
 11 American Indian Movement (AIM) founded, Minneapolis, 1968
 19 Triumph of Sandinista revolution, Nicaragua, 1979
 19 Women's Rights Convention, 1848, Seneca Falls, New York

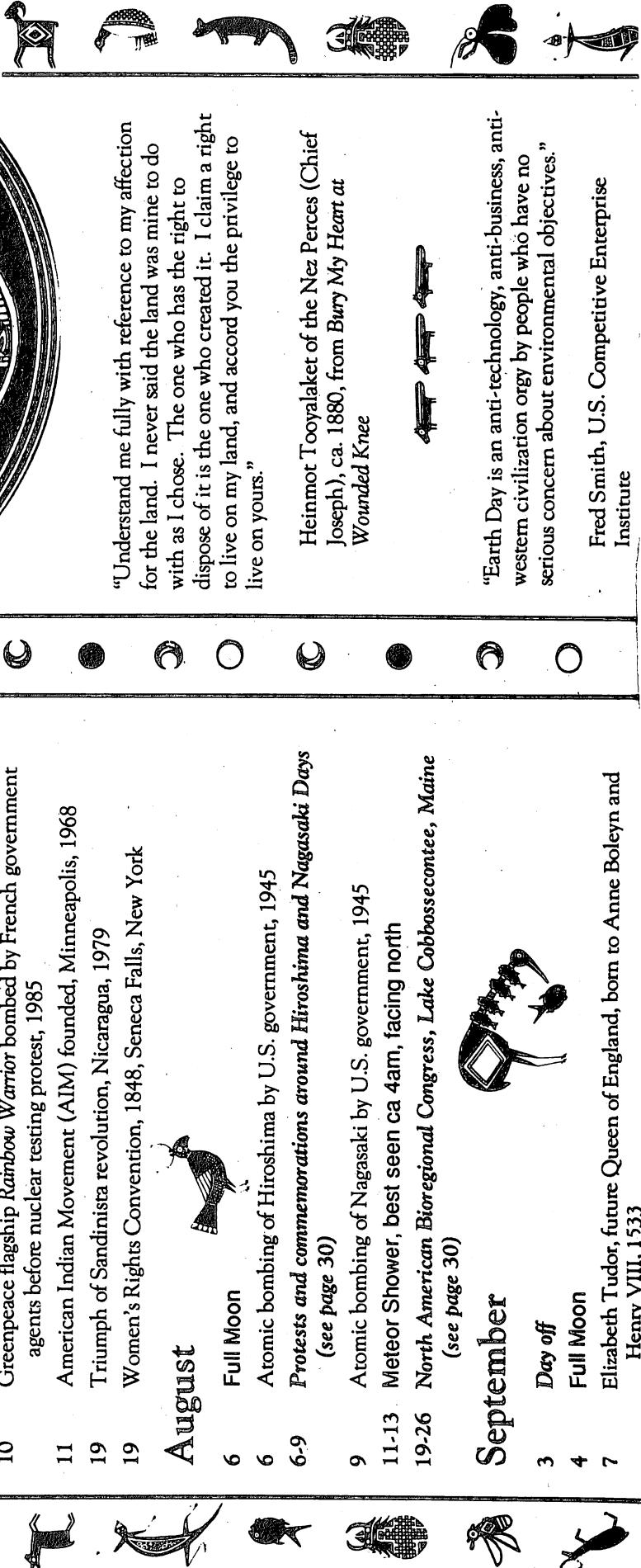
August

6 Full Moon
 6 Atomic bombing of Hiroshima by U.S. government, 1945
 6 *Protests and commemorations around Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days*
 (see page 30)
 9 Atomic bombing of Nagasaki by U.S. government, 1945
 11-13 Meteor Shower, best seen ca 4am, facing north
 19-26 *North American Bioregional Congress, Lake Cobossecontee, Maine*
 (see page 30)

September

3 Day off
 4 Full Moon

7 Elizabeth Tudor, future Queen of England, born to Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII, 1533



“Understand me fully with reference to my affection for the land. I never said the land was mine to do with as I chose. The one who has the right to dispose of it is the one who created it. I claim a right to live on my land, and accord you the privilege to live on yours.”

Heinmot Tooyalaket of the Nez Perces (Chief Joseph), ca. 1880, from *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*

“Earth Day is an anti-technology, anti-business, anti-western civilization orgy by people who have no serious concern about environmental objectives.”

Fred Smith, U.S. Competitive Enterprise Institute

8 United Farm Workers launch successful 5-year strike and boycott against corporate grapegrowers, California, 1965

12-16 "Greening the Nineties," Green Committees of Correspondence National Gathering, Boulder, Colorado (see page 35)

15 Founding Congress of Anarchist Anti-Authoritarian International, St. Imier, France, 1872

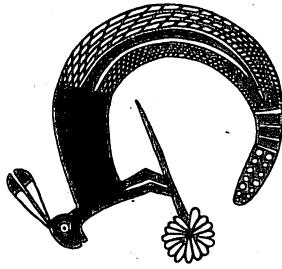
23 Fall Equinox, Sun enters Libra 2:55am EDT

30 Puerto Rican protesters burn 1400 draft cards, 1970

October

2 Mohandas Gandhi born, 1869

4 Full Moon



Key to the Almanac:

Historical events

Planet Updates

Actions and Events



Graphics from Pueblo pottery of the Mimbres area in the southwest of modern New Mexico, about one thousand years ago. These prints made from drawings by Harriet Cosgrove and published in *New Mexico Quarterly*, Spring 1957 issue. Poem reprinted from *Greenlight, Cumberland Green Bioregional Council, Nashville TN. Calendar dates from Syracuse Cultural Workers Calendar (SCW, PO Box 6367, Syracuse NY 13217). Almanac designed by George Franklin.*
Send ideas, dates, puzzles, etc to "Almanac," c/o Green Letter, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114.

I perceive, said the Countess, Philosophy is now become very Mechanical.

So mechanical, said I, that I fear we shall quickly be ashamed of it; they will have the World to be in great, what a Watch is in little; which is very regular, and depends only upon the just disposing of the several parts of the Movement. But pray tell me, Madam, had you not formerly a more sublime Idea of the Universe?

Bernard de Fontenelle, *A Plurality of Worlds*, 1686



Sorry to the Next to Arrive

Sorry to the next to arrive
Sorry, we have contaminated the land
with plastic bags and soda cans
Sorry, about the laboratories
that unrightfully slaughter
innocent animals just to
put mascara on convenience
store shelves

Sorry, about the wars that have
killed so many people
that we have nearly
destroyed

Sorry, about the ozone layer
such a dreadful world.

We cannot say how sorry we are.

Emily Cook, age 12,
Summertown, Tennessee



Ireland

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labels began to grace the canisters of a wide variety of household and cosmetic products and plastic and paper bag recycling projects were launched with impressive participation from the public. Further evidence of Green initiative can now be found in the Irish farm produce market as free range ham, pork and poultry and organically grown fruit and vegetables present popular alternatives to the hormone injected, "battery hen" and chemically sprayed produce of the factory farming era.

At government level, several goals have been set by the Greens for this year, including the passing of an E.C. law relating to environmental impact; the passing of an effective water pollution bill; ensuring the new agency set up for the protection of the environment is allocated sufficient funding and power to operate independently; preventing the legalization of food irradiation in Ireland; the passing of a Freedom of Environmental Information law; legislation concerning air pollution to combat in particular Dublin smog; pressure on the government to introduce a conversion subsidy for Irish farmers to grow organic produce and much stronger safeguards regarding the disposal of toxic waste. Roger Garland has effectively raised many parliamentary questions on environmental, social and budgetary manners and has developed a high media profile quite out of proportion to Green representation in parliament. Meanwhile the party is building constituency support and becoming a serious electoral force with a view to the local government elections due to take place towards the end of this year. Ireland, the "emerald" isle takes on new connotations.

Redwood Summer Video

20-minute Redwood Summer Organizing Video now available. Covering Redwood Summer Plans, accelerated clear-cutting of Old Growth Forests, the Oakland Bombing and FBI targeting of environmental actionists. Sliding scale: \$15-25 for individuals; \$25-50 for groups and organizations. Please make checks payable to ECOVideographe. 2215-R Market St. Box 464, San Francisco, CA 94114. For info call 800-783-8888.

Columbia

continued from page 21

chief goal.

We need a new way to organize that combines the best of "traditional" organizing, yet allows for Green values come alive. It is difficult to determine how to do this in grassroots organizing. We don't have the answers yet.

The Greens need a way to self-empowerment so that we can be a healthy and vital group. Unfortunately, self-empowerment and self-esteem is something our existing society has drummed out of us in its effort to create conformity and compliance. As we are creating an organization that works for society as a whole, it can't be predicated on a uniform maturity for members, and must support inclusiveness while avoiding chaos or co-operation.

Much of our work needs to be in learning how to empower people to make change rather than deciding what changes will be made and imposing them upon people.

We do not have a method for selecting leaders yet, and suffer accordingly. Neither do we have a means for determining if individual and circle action adheres to the 10 key values. There currently are no bylaw provisions for facilitation, accountability, or judicial action. A task force on facilitation is being organized to act as a judicial branch in running the meetings, certifying circle representatives and setting limits.

What about money?

As in most organizations a preoccupation with fundraising is one easy focus... and a way to put off real political action. So far, we have voted "no" to paying member-workers and "no" to raising money as a focus. Instead we ask members to "pay" their way through dues or work. In the same way, the newsletter does not take advertisements, but is supported by member dues, with members free to choose not to support the newsletter if they don't want it delivered.

What are our greatest dangers?

Our greatest danger is shouted at us every day, "There is no time to do things right. Save the Earth through any means and then work on process." We are prone to over-process, too. Oftentimes we get caught in a "rat's nest" of not making decisions until we have determined all the answers. We are learning a great deal in our orga-

nization by searching for balance.

Saying we're Green and being Green are two very separate things. Becoming our values is saving the Earth.

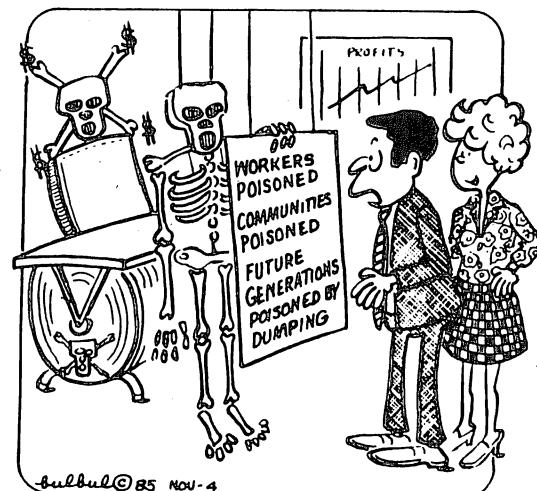
Lisa Brenner wrote most of this article. Pamela Mombell authored sections and edited. Anne Binninger, Larry Cwik, Diane Meisenhelter, and Bob Reis contributed.

Announcements

The First International Ecological City Conference met in Berkeley, California, March 29 through April 1, 1990. Over 700 attendees from around the world convened to discuss urban problems and submit solutions with the goal of shaping cities upon ecological principles. For a copy of the proceedings, contact Urban Ecology, P.O. Box 10144, Berkeley, CA 94709, (415) 549-1724.

Boycott Alaska—Due to a recent decision by the Alaska Board of Game to expand the legal hunting of wolves from the air, Wolf Action Group of Missoula, Montana is calling for a tourist boycott of Alaska. For more info., contact WAG, P.O. Box 9286, Missoula, MT 59807.

Macrocosm USA: Environmental, Political and Social Transformation for the 90s, an educational and resource guide, is calling for articles, position papers, photographs, stories and other materials chronicling social change movements. Submissions accepted through the Green Conference, September, 1990. Contact: S.L. Brockway, P.O. Box 969, Cambria, CA 93428.



THE TOXICS COALITION REDECORATED YOUR OFFICE

Greenroots Politics: The Evolution of the SPAKA Process

Christa Slaton

Each of us will have different standards and criteria by which to evaluate the degree to which we Greens have been successful in the SPAKA ratification process of remaining true to our grassroots democratic principles. From my perspective, the process of developing our program is of equal importance to the final product. Our program must have its roots in the Green locals and must always be subject to review and revision by them. That is my idea of Greenroots politics, a decentralized network of grassroots democratic organizations.

To be truly democratic requires time, commitment, responsibility, and—above all—patience and mutual respect. Of course, this will be at times frustrating, annoying, and exhausting. But the result of such an investment of self and selflessness is a process of working together through difficulties to produce a unity and clarity of purpose that forms a solid foundation for future development.

I believe that the SPAKA process has demonstrated over the last two years that decisions can be made from the bottom up. We have worked through a radically innovative democratic process that gets us to the point of ratifying a policy program based on the participation of hundreds of Greens all across the country.

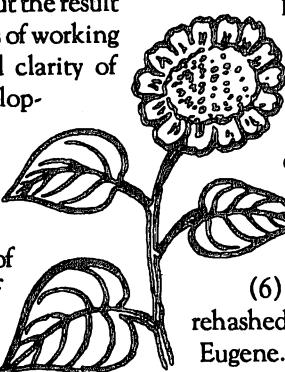
It has not been an easy process. It has not produced a perfect product. But we have been pioneering a very broad-based effort that holds many lessons for our continued commitment to true, decentralized democratic politics.

Some of the Dilemmas We Faced

(1) We had no criteria by which to select working group coordinators. In most cases, the coordinators were volunteers who were participants in their working groups. Some were more responsible, some less responsible, and some disappeared into thin air.

(2) Requiring teamwork of coordinators who had never worked together before was problematic, to say the best. Some were very reliable. Others were not. Energetic and responsible coordinators were sometimes slowed down or left hanging by partners who failed to respond or follow through.

(3) Our emphasis on one male and one female coordinator for each working group led to some coordinators being drafted who had no desire to play such a role. The result was that as soon as Eugene



became a pleasant memory, they abandoned ship, without leaving a goodbye note.

(4) We expected coordinators to maintain regular contact with members of their working groups and respond to local inquiries. But we did not provide them with a budget to cover duplicating costs, phone calls, and postage. It became a financial drain on some coordinators, particularly those most committed to keeping the process very democratic. A few coordinators requested contributions from those to whom they sent information to help cover their own personal cash outflow. That met with limited success.

(5) No specific guidelines and training for coordinators were provided in Eugene. Therefore, coordinators adopted very different methods for revising statements. As more specific guidelines were ultimately developed and provided to coordinators by the SPAKA Ratification Sub-group of the Boulder Planning Group during the course of the year, some coordinators chose to ignore them and to continue using their own personal judgments about how to address local input.

(6) Many coordinators felt frustrated that local input often rehashed issues that had been resolved in the working groups at Eugene. Therefore, some had a tendency to dismiss input, which left members of locals feeling ignored.

These are some difficulties we faced during this process of political experimentation as a way-of-life, of ad hoc-ism as a necessity. However, they have produced a body of knowledge that will alert us to pitfalls to be avoided or minimized in the future. Nevertheless, with the novelty of our endeavor and the inexperience of many of us, I believe our product is remarkable. Granted it is flawed. There are some gaping holes. There are some inconsistencies. Some local input got lost or excluded. We need to find a means to address these imperfections and to polish our document. But after a year of coordinating the activities of nearly sixty working group coordinators and working with almost thirty planners and advisors in designing the ratification for the Boulder Gathering, I feel we Greens have worked together remarkably in our unprecedented program development and proposed a number of policies and strategies that desperately need attention in American politics. I believe that Greenroots politics is growing, albeit patchily, but on

Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas (SPAKA)

It has been a year since delegates from local Green Committees of Correspondence met in working groups in Eugene, Oregon to discuss SPAKA (Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas) statements drafted by locals all across the country. Over thirty working groups, caucuses, and networks were created in Eugene to continue the discussion and development of the statements that would be presented for ratification at the next national Green COC Gathering in Boulder, Colorado.

The working group statements included in this issue of *Green Letter* are the product of the second round of revisions to the Eugene text. Working group coordinators have worked for the past ten months responding to local input by integrating new material and/or identifying areas of disagreement. Some statements have been radically revised. Others have merely been refined. Others remain unchanged.



an otherwise barren American political terrain.

Keeping the Ratification Program Green

As the SPAKA ratification coordinator, I was instructed by the Boulder Planning Group to establish guidelines for the format of working group statements to be voted on in Boulder. Rather than establish guidelines myself, I collaborated with several members of the Planning Group who expressed an interest in the ratification process issues. In April, before the final deadline for local input to the working group statements, we furnished the coordinators with guidelines to prepare their final statement. In order to have these consistent for final scrutiny and consideration, each was to have five distinct components:

(1) Introductory paragraph (very brief) that states the reasons and/or Green values for what is to follow.

(2) A list of short and specific policy proposals. These should contain no more than two sentences each.

(3) A list of specific implementation strategies for the policies. Again, these should be brief.

(4) A rationale and social/political analysis that offers an explanation for the specific policies and strategies.

(5) Identification of input from locals that has not been integrated. These may include statements that the coordinators feel express opposition to the positions in the final statement, new ideas that do not integrate well, contradictions to Green values, and the like.

It was decided by the Boulder Planning Group at our meeting in Estes Park, Colorado, in May that only the policy proposals will be voted on. The strategies will be identified as recommendations and the rationale (which will not be voted on) will be used primarily as supporting documentation for the specific policy and strategy proposals of each working group.

As should be obvious from the working group statements that follow, some coordinators followed the guidelines and some did not. As a result, those of us on the Planning Group who have been focusing our work on the ratification process, will identify the specific policy proposals of each working group that will be voted on in Boulder. In order to facilitate the voting process, all policy proposals will be written in short, clear sentences. Each dues-paying local will be sent a copy of the policy proposals of working groups that are not presented according to the guidelines in this issue of *Green Letter*. It should arrive the middle of July.

Who Will Be Participating in the Ratification Process at Boulder?

Delegates at the San Diego IC Meeting in March empowered the Boulder Planning Group to make all decisions regarding the Boulder Gathering. After listening to the recommendations from IC delegates and discussing the merits of various proposals, the Planning Group established the following delegate-policy for the Boulder Gathering.

(1) Delegates only, will participate in the ratification part of the gathering, which takes place Thursday and Friday (September 13 and 14).

(2) Delegates will be seated only from dues-paying locals. There will be no delegate status for at-large members of the GCoC. Locals

must pay their dues into the national Clearinghouse by July 31, 1990 in order to send delegates to Boulder. Dues are \$10 a year per member.

(3) Representation will be proportional. The national Clearinghouse Coordinator will determine the number of voting delegates in proportion to dues paid into the Clearinghouse from August 1, 1989 until July 31, 1990.

(4) Locals having 3-8 dues-paying members will qualify for two delegates; 9-14 members = three delegates; 15-20 members = four delegates; and 21 or more = five delegates.

(5) Up to two proxies per local will be allowed.

What Is the Voting Process at Boulder?

A number of decisions regarding the ratification schedule at Boulder, working group sessions, and facilitation will be made by the Planning Group at the Ann Arbor IC Meeting in late June. However, the following decisions have already been made about the voting process. (1) As in the case at IC meetings, the decision-making process will strive for consensus. (2) If consensus cannot be reached, there will be a fall-back vote requiring 75% for approval of the proposal. (3) The vote on whether to vote on issues will be eliminated. (4) There will be an initial vote on the entire policy section of each working group. If that does not pass, there will be a vote on each policy proposal as a separate item.

What Is the Role of Locals in the Ratification Process Between Now and the Boulder Gathering?

There is a very important role for the locals to play in the ratification process before delegates arrive in Boulder. Any local that intends to send delegates to Boulder to vote against any of the statements need to send their objections, reasons for the objections and alternative proposals to me by August 10th. My address is 128 Tal Heim Drive, Auburn, AL 36830. As indicated in a letter I sent to all the locals in March, this provision is not intended to place pressure on locals to accept the statements, but (a) it is an assurance that delegates are acting on behalf of local instructions and (b) it will help the Ratification planners design a process that will try to address differences at Boulder and attempt to resolve them there.

Locals are also encouraged to help identify additional policies and/or categories to be included in the ongoing SPAKA process that takes us beyond Boulder. Jon Li is coordinating this ad hoc activity and will hold informal meetings at Boulder that will not interfere with the ratification process and schedule. Locals with proposals for existing or new categories can send their ideas to Jon at 1075 Olive Dr. #5, Davis, CA 95616. Jon will send confirmation of his receipt of the new submissions within a week after he receives them. To date locals have identified the following new categories: ecocities, media, computers, transit, housing, children, elderly, work and labor, biological diversity, civil liberties, human rights, environmental education, cultural survival, population, wilderness and parks, and global commons.

The Difficulties of Coordinating the Ratification Process

Coordinating the ever-emerging ratification process this past year has been quite an experience. I saw my role strictly as a coordinator of a process that had been designed prior to my assuming the role.



I was not an editor or censor of the product of any working group or coordinator. During the past eight months since I assumed this role, I sent out 908 letters and detailed information packets to working group coordinators, locals, and Planning and Advisory Group members. I wrote four detailed updates for the IC Bulletin and wrote a progress report with John Rensenbrink for the last issue of *Green Letter*. In addition, I made 112 phone calls and received 142 calls in efforts to inform and assist coordinators and members of locals in the process.

Yet I faced repeated travails when the process was ignored or bypassed by groups or individuals as we went through the various stages of revising the Eugene text. For instance, each *Green Letter* publication deadline was missed by most working group coordinators. Therefore, I had to spend many hours making phone calls, dealing with broken promises, and contending with a number of crises that did not become apparent until time constraints magnified them. Some coordinators withdrew at the very last minute without integrating input from locals. For this last issue of *Green Letter* only eight coordinators sent me copies of their revisions, so I had no overall picture of the final revisions to the Eugene text.

In spite of the many frustrations I have felt at times during this process, my perspective has always been balanced by the tremendous dedication and support of Greens all across the country. For every negative experience there was at least one extremely positive experience that energized me and encouraged me. I have admired the efforts of many of the cooperative, responsible and responsive coordinators throughout the months of revision. It has been stimulating to hear from locals from Maine to Hawaii and to receive such thoughtful commentary on the SPAKA statements. Kahlil Gibran states: "If I accept the sunshine and warmth, I must also accept the thunder and the lightning." For me personally and for the ratification process, I believe there have been far more sunny days than stormy ones, and the storms sure have helped me appreciate the sunshine more.

Coming Together at Boulder

The degree to which we can all accept responsibility to participate, to make serious efforts to resolve differences, to practice our listening skills, and to treat each other respectfully in our interactions will affect the extent of our success in the Greenroots-based SPAKA process. We have made tremendous progress in the last two years and are on the verge of the adoption of a unifying program that can broaden and enrich American politics. The Boulder Gathering offers us the opportunity to demonstrate the quality of our transformational politics but we must understand and practice our understanding that it is the Greenroots political process that is equally important to the particular wording of any policy statement or rationale. I believe we are up to the task and look forward to a community spirit guided by our Green values to see us through.

SPAKA documents follow in alphabetical order, along with working group coordinators. Asterisk denotes primary coordinator.

Animal Liberation



We need to bring a Green perspective to the Animal Liberation movement and we need to bring animal liberation issues before the Greens.

[No revisions because no response from coordinators]



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Arts and Culture

Values

The arts speak the language of the senses (through words, images, sounds, form, color, touch, and movement) and often communicate things that cannot be otherwise expressed. In expressing these more intuitive or emotional parts of ourselves and our world, artistic activity is fundamental to re-balancing our lives, to giving us practice in thinking holistically and creatively, and to educating our capacities for sensory discrimination.

Artists have an important role to play in creating a more sustainable society and empowering their communities. Their images and actions can stimulate changes in consciousness and behavior. Free and diverse artistic expressions are vital for challenging people to rethink their assumptions and for educating people about their past, present issues, and future visions.

Policies

1. The Greens oppose all forms of censorship in the arts.
2. The Greens advocate a mutually supportive relationship between artists and society, one which recognizes and supports an expanded role for artists in society.
3. The Greens advocate extending access to a variety of arts experiences to every interested citizen.
4. The Greens advocate practices by artists that facilitate the social and political transformation of our society from its destructive practices to sustainable ones.
5. The Greens advocate creative, noncompetitive art education at every level from preschoolers to the elderly.

Rationale

Artists can create in ways that foster healthy, non-alienating relationships between people and their daily environment, communities, and the earth. This can include both artists whose themes advocate compassion, nurturing, or cooperation; and also artists whose creations unmask the often obscured connections between various forms of violence, domination, and oppression, or



effectively criticize or mock aspects of the very community that supports their artistic activity.

The arts can only perform their social function if they are completely free from outside control. We acknowledge that freedom of artistic expression is a fundamental right in a diverse and decentralized society. A healthy society has nothing to fear from free artists.

The free development of the arts is also threatened by incursions from the economic life. In the visual arts Greens deplore the use of the artwork as an investment tool, which is a result of the general commodification of the artwork. In the performing arts we criticize the development of a centralized culture industry which encourages the marketing of "culture" and star worship by passive cultural consumers. Rather, we favor alternative, community-based systems for the financial support of artists, systems which treat neither the artwork nor the artist as a commodity within the economic process. Freely-given recognition and support of artists must be tied more directly to actual, educated community interest in specific artists and artistic creations.

As educated response is crucial to a healthy community appreciation of the arts, and as the arts educate abilities and human potentials rarely touched upon in other subjects in the school curriculum, arts education is fundamental for a healthy society and must be supported and expanded.

The Greens wish to extend access to a variety of live arts experiences to every interested citizen, even those who live in remote areas. Appreciation of and activity in the arts is important to all people, not only to "professional artists." Television programs are no substitute for physical access to non-video artistic events.

Implementation Strategies

1. The Greens oppose all laws which seek to restrict or censor artistic expression, including withholding of government funds for political or moral content. We specifically state our support for the unique visions and voices of artists underrepresented in the institutionalized arts mainstream, including but not limited to women, people of color, people with disabilities, people of alternate sexual preferences and life styles, and children.

2. The arts should receive increased funding appropriate to their essential social role at all levels of government: federal, state, and local.

3. The Greens encourage community-funded programs employing local artists to enrich their communities through public art programs. These could include, but would not be limited to, public performances, exhibitions, murals on public buildings, design or re-design of parks and public areas, storytelling and poetry reading, and publication of local writers.

4. The Greens encourage the establishment of non-profit public forums for local artists to display their talents and creations to interested members of their community. These forums would be offered with equal access to all interested artists.

5. To help decentralize the arts world, we would begin to relocate cultural institutions from overly heavy concentration in large city centers (some of which are little used at night and weekends) to the more lively suburbs and/or to rural areas or smaller regional and local centers. We also wish to fund widely traveling exhibitions, concerts, performances, and film programs.

6. Zoning and building permit decisions should include

reviews to encourage enlivening, appropriately scaled and designed, non-alienating styles of architecture and landscape design in our communities.

7. The Greens encourage research, public dialogue, and trial experiments to develop alternative systems for the valuation and exchange of artworks and for the financial support of artists (e.g., community subscriber support groups, artwork rental trusts, cooperative support systems among artists, legal or financial incentives to donate to the arts or to donate artworks to public museums).

8. Artists should support a sustainable society by making responsible choices of non-toxic, renewable, or recyclable materials and by choosing funding sources not connected with social injustice or environmental destruction.

9. The Greens encourage education programs in the community that will energize the creativity of every community member from the youngest to the oldest, including neglected groups such as teenagers, senior citizens, prisoners, immigrants, and drug addicts. These programs would provide materials and access to interested, qualified arts educators to every member of the community who demonstrates an interest.

10. Arts education studies and activities must be incorporated into every school curriculum with appropriate funding and staffing. We also encourage local artists and the community to contribute time, experience, and resources to these efforts.

11. The Greens encourage diversity in arts education in the schools, including age-specific hands-on activities and appreciative/theoretical approaches, exposure to the arts of various cultures and stylistic traditions, and experience with a variety of mediums, techniques, and content. We support the integration of the arts and artistic teaching methods into other areas of the curriculum to promote a holistic perspective.



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Community

Building for the Future

Community is a crucial element of any Green success and lasting change. Scott Peck's book *A Different Drum* defines community as a spirit. It is not tangible, but you know it is there. It is a group of people who are committed to co-existence with each other. It encourages individual participation and seeks to reach consensus. It is not afraid to be truthful and is committed to working through and understanding differences. It is *ecologically balanced, grassroots democratic, decentralized, respectful of diversity, feminist, personally and socially responsible, and committed to the future*. Community contains a shared past and a shared wish for the future.

Specific suggestions for the implementation of Green Communities

• We must develop an attitude of being *part of the land*. We should explore land trusts, intentional communities, and other alterna-



tives to outright ownership of the land and critically reevaluate the impact and consequences of our consumption/waste patterns.

• We insist on strict control, by local ordinance and community action, of all forms of pollution, including noise pollution, for the health and well-being of all community members. Noise and traffic should be prohibited in sensitive areas and wilderness.

• We envision a Green community free of class distinctions based on wealth, and encourage simple living and frugal business practices to obtain this goal.

• Public communication media in a Green community should be decentralized, participatory, and serve as a facilitator of information exchange (as scribes presenting the essence of meetings and gatherings, for example)

• Social exchange is critical to community development. Programs teaching consensus and facilitation should be presented on a regular basis. Space should be developed for community meetings and all members encouraged to attend. These gatherings should be both issue-oriented and celebratory.

• Communities must develop and reenact new and old rituals. We must learn to sing and dance together.

• To encourage exchange between generations, a re-connection should be made between the community elders and the very young on a continuing basis.

• The community can be seen as an extended form of the family, nurturing and caring for its members. As we restructure our vision of community, so must we restructure our concept of the family. We must all continue to work on healing ourselves from the wounds we suffered from not growing up in Green community.

• We must all work towards changing the oppressive nature of our schools by becoming involved in education.

• We must all live our Green values in whatever family and community we have.

Green Community Rationale

Green community offers a vision of *re-connection*. Through community, we emphasize a return to local, face-to-face relationships that humans can understand, cope with, and care about—while it also creates a consciousness of our intricate interconnections with all others in our region and around the world. The Green vision calls for a global *community of communities*, affirming the immense diversity of heritages, lifestyles, and peoples. We believe that we must develop a new understanding of the effects our choices have on other peoples and communities. We must develop policies which reflect such understanding. Our standard of living must reflect not only our needs but also the needs of other communities. A democratic vision of cultural and social self-determination within our society necessarily entails recognition of other peoples' right to an independent, vital cultural and social existence. Greens seek the revitalization of regional culture and art forms through which a rich sense of heritage, values, and vision can find expression.

Greens advocate economic, political, and social policies which nourish and support local communities' initiatives instead of federal policies which seek to impose uniformity and standardization. Greens promote the maximum local self-determination consistent with elemental standards of fairness, equity, and human rights. We are convinced that the local community is the best provider of social services and feel that far more emphasis needs to be placed on ways

to create, strengthen, and transform community-based associations to provide these services. It is in our communities we can best learn and relearn the arts and skills of public life, the practices that lead to respect between diverse groups. Community must grow from a deep, concerned renewal in our culture. The Greens challenge the throwaway mentality which consigns the old, the poor, the marginal, the left-out, to the category of "losers." We call for the rekindling of our basic awareness that we are responsible for both ourselves and for each other. As Martin Luther King put it, "We are bound by a single garment of destiny, caught by an inescapable network of mutuality."

We commit to assisting individual changes in consciousness and teaching others the tools for that change. In all our interactions, we reaffirm the idea that all human beings have the potential to be good, loving, worthy, and cooperative.

We recognize no separation of learning from life, as we are all teachers and students. All members of the community, including the children, must actively participate in the process of learning. Our learning is guided by the vision of long-term sustainability of the Earth community.

We recognize the importance of the interests and perspectives of the non-human members of our community—the four-legged and crawling, those who swim in the water and fly through the air, members of the plant kingdom, and the land which supports us all. We emphasize the interdependence and kinship of humans with all that exists, based on our understanding of local ecosystems and their relationship with the planetary ecosystem.

Input From Locals

All input from locals has been successfully integrated in my view. Specific References to Artists was removed, to be replaced by the new SPAKA on "Arts and Culture."

The reference to "stewardship of the land" was objected to and was replaced with "being part of the land." Other minor or editorial changes were made, and acceptable additions were made.



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Direct Action

1) Direct Action should be part of Green politics and has been neglected up to this point as a vital aspect of U.S. Green organizing.

2) All CoCs are encouraged to come up with direct actions appropriate to their communities.

3) Plan and study before engaging in direct action. Formation of affinity groups is encouraged when doing civil disobedience. Consider Ghandian non-violence and other guiding principles. Discuss. Allow room for the spontaneous.

4) Greens are encouraged to build coalitions with other groups



and constituencies, both in planning, and as a result of, direct action.

5) We believe that creative direct action will further empower people in their own lives, and help build broad popular support for the Green Movement.

6) We support all forms of direct action, including civil disobedience. As Greens, however, "monkeywrenching" and similar forms of resistance should be left to individuals and their own consciences—and not be conducted under the Green name, as this may interfere with the functioning of the Greens as a political organization. Blanket condemnation of these activities, however, is not implied.



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Eco-philosophy

The Eco-philosophy group was charged with examining issues relating to eco-feminism, technology and ecology. From an eco-philosophical standpoint, the basis of the Greens, the ten key values, does not lead to a strong statement of position. Further, discussions of eco-philosophy led to a general discontentment of the current structure of the ten key values.

Examination of the ten key values leads to complaints of being conceptually fuzzy, redundant and overlapping, and incomplete. Further, discussion was made over the definition of "value" and that some are truly values, but some are processes used to implement values. The concerns of the working group indicated that a new framework for the key values is necessary.

Evaluation of eco-feminism and technology, along with careful consideration of the ten key values, leads us to determine that human domination of nature, both human and non-human, leads to the concerns that the green movement wishes to address. The elimination of this domination is the objective of the green movement and the green vision is of an ecological community free from domination. The principles, processes and practices of the Greens are what will lead us to meet our objectives. The principles are similar to previously stated values with the additions of honesty and cooperation. The Post-Patriarchal value has been changed to eco-feminism for additional clarity and completeness. Personal and Global Responsibility has been rearranged to emphasize "Think Globally, Act Locally." The processes are used by the movement to make changes in accordance with the principles. An additional process of personal development has been added. The practice of our principles and processes in daily life are what can lead to the fulfillment of our objectives and the reaching of our vision.

Additional work is required to further structure the wording, definition of terms (i.e. eco-feminism, honesty, cooperation, personal development) and general presentability. We propose that the working group continue the process of definition and refinement of the contextual framework into a concrete formulation.

Addendum to Eco-philosophy

Coordinated by Lorna Salzman

We recommend as absolutely essential to Green strategy and policy development and implementation the enunciation of a fundamental and ecologically consistent philosophic statement. To sustain life is THE Green responsibility, THE personal and social responsibility. The coordination of the effort to understand and respond to this responsibility is THE Green political endeavor. The single essential of Green behavior, the one towards which all our values direct us, is the preservation and the enhancement of life. Towards this end, we recommend the abandonment of all philosophic positions which lead to behaviors which detract from biological adaptation and ecological accommodation.

We intend to protect the Earth's resources, its flora and fauna and to foster ecological renewal.

We recognize that to achieve ecological restoration, all people and all the Earth's other inhabitants have an equal right to its resources.

We must voluntarily adopt a low-consumption social and economic system and provide for the equitable distribution of resources that will allow a comfortable standard of living for all human cultures.

We call for private and public initiatives to reallocate our resources and technology from the life-destroying arms race to the life-affirming work towards sustainability.

We must counteract the challenges presented by our own technology and industrial development: carbon dioxide buildup and ozone depletion in the atmosphere, acid rain, toxic waste, deforestation, groundwater pollution and depletion, soil erosion, species destruction and fossil energy dependence.

We must solve the worldwide food, hunger and carrying capacity crises and make the transition to a sustainable, just and healthy way of life in the US and in the world.



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ECOnomics

Introduction

The following is our attempt to cast the previous econ statement into a form closer to that suggested by Rensenbrink (SPAKA Conference Econ Working Group Advisor): "Practical Goals, followed by steps to get there, followed by philosophical and explanatory rationales". There are, however, some problems with this approach. To start with "Practical Goals" is an invitation to be bogged down



in an endless list of particulars or to risk distortion through a "representative" selection. In either case, the impact of a high level generality is lost. What we have done is to list five goals of very high generality. To list the "steps to get there" would obviously be unrealistic. After the five goals, we have listed an additional ten goals, which can be seen as means towards the first five. Following the list of goals is a list of types of action with some examples. The somewhat vague distinction is that a particular type of action may be used as a step towards a number of different goals. We felt that these lists together pretty well cover the content of the previous econ statement.

No section on "philosophical and explanatory rationales" has been produced due to time constraints and since that aspect was expected to be controversial and the intent of this stage is to produce something that can be generally agreed on.

The first five goals were chosen to be relatively independent. None of them imply the others and none is a means to another. For the goals, number in "()" correlate goals with previous versions number principles. Where the previous principle is not adequately covered, there should be an attempt to modify a goal where its issue is dealt with rather than add a new goal. The list of actions is linked to the previous steps to be taken in a similar manner, and modifications should be made in the same way.

GOALS FOR A GREEN ECONOMY: Five primary Green goals for our national economy:

1. To be sustainable and regenerative. (1, 3 "long term", 10)
2. To supply, at the least, a modest level of goods and services to each. (1 "human needs", 4, 8)
3. To preserve the integrity of natural ecologies. (1, 4, 8, 10)
4. To reduce alienation, oppression, coercion and denial of equal opportunity in all economic relationships. (1 "human needs", 4, 8, 12)
5. To promote these goals, in a non-dominating way, in other countries. (11).

The following are goals which are means to bring about the above goals:

6. To decentralize and regionalize economic activity as much as practical, supporting local self-reliance. (6, 7)
7. To transform current power, wealth and ownership relations both nationally and internationally, away from current oppressive structures.
8. To produce goods that are durable, repairable, reusable, recyclable and energy efficient, using non-polluting production methods and conserving material.
9. To eliminate destructive projects and promote preservative and regenerative projects. (5)
10. To provide access for each to the means of production through employment, proprietorship, ownership, etc. (Twin Cities Greens)
11. To encourage and reward ecologically sound personal life styles. (9)
12. To have ecologically and socially responsible business and financial institutions, creating alternative forms (such as cooperatives and worker owned businesses), where current ones will not serve. (7) (also #8 from "Steps To Be Taken")
13. To support families in such things as child care, leaves of absence, part-time work, etc. (PP Values, Greener Times, Autumn

1989)

14. To eliminate harassment, unequal opportunities for advancement and unjustified pay differentials based on gender or minority status.

15. To develop criteria for, and implement, social/ecological audits on businesses and institutions. (#3 from "Steps To Be Taken")

STEPS TOWARDS A GREEN ECONOMY

Actions may involve 1) individuals and groups, 2) regional organizations, 3) local to state governments, 4) the national government. Work on all these is needed, but Green traditions suggest emphasis on the first three.

Some examples of types of action are given below.

1) Information Gathering, Educating and Publicizing

Information on ecologically destructive products can be used to persuade people not to buy them. Information is needed on what alternatives in economic organization have been or are being tried and how well they have worked. (3, 12, 15)

2) Boycotting and Changing Consumption Patterns

All the products of a corporation may be boycotted to force change in certain practices. Individuals may be urged to buy particular environmentally friendly products instead. (6)

3) Changing Patterns of Ownership of Enterprises, Resources, Land, etc.

Concentration of ownership leads to a variety of evils socially and environmentally. Some public ownership and wider distribution of individual ownership can both help alleviate the situation. Special legal arrangements such as land trusts and environmental easements can be of use. (1, 4, 11)

4) Financing

Socially responsible investing can be encouraged. Local and cooperative financial institutions can be supported. Basic changes in the way money functions can be made through the use of credit-barter systems and local currencies. (2, 5, 10)

5) Changing Taxes and Subsidies

Current effects of taxes and subsidies are often harmful rather than helpful, as for example in the fields of energy and transportation. Taxes and subsidies can produce positive effects in encouraging socially and ecologically responsible enterprises. Taxes can also be used to penalize pollution and resource waste. (9, 14)

6) Regulating and Prohibiting

Improve legislation on pollution and use of resources, including more disclosure and accountability. Where practical eliminate pollution by prohibition of production and use. (15)

7) Working for International Agreements

Treaties dealing with CFCs and whaling need to be strengthened. Other greenhouse-effect gases need to be considered. Tariff, trade and foreign aid agreements need to reflect positive social and environmental values. (7)



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Education

The greatest challenge facing the people of the United States is to educate themselves and their children in order to build a sustainable, humane and democratic future and to become responsible and effective citizens of the local/global communities they share. We believe that our public school system, as it presently operates does not help us to reach this goal.

We believe the pedagogy of Paolo Freire is especially relevant for Greens. His insistence that everyone is an intellectual—in the sense that everyone knows fruitful truths about their own lives—leads to the idea that the teacher must learn and must change in the process of teaching. As the Russian ecologist Alexandre Karamakhin said “child teaches teacher.” Without such deep humility we cannot hope to reach our fellow travelers on this imperiled planet.

Greens see education as a transformative agent in which primary, secondary and higher education institutions represent only one important arena. Authentic education directly arises from and informs human experience at the grassroots level. Through education we engender and, at the same time, become products of social and pedagogical relations. Through education, meaning, desire, thought and human values engage and respond to deeper feelings: what it means to be human, to dream, to search and to struggle towards a vision. The personal and the pedagogical are political, the political must be pedagogical, and the pedagogical must be accessible to all, free from jargon and open-ended.

Our public schools perpetuate structures and habits of domination by requiring students to work for extrinsic rewards. They stigmatize as losers all but the “best” students. By fragmenting knowledge the schools alienate students from a holistic world. They reinforce the mass media’s injunction to consume rather than to create, to conform rather than to cooperate. They perpetuate the illusion that for everybody to have a piece of the pie, the pie must grow endlessly, regardless of the cost to the earth, to ourselves, to our relations with other people and other lifeforms.

Centralized and bureaucratic schools waste scarce educational resources. Schools in the inner cities, poor rural areas and on Indian reservations fail to provide their students with the minimal skills necessary to function in today’s society. And, in general, our educational system fails to motivate students or to teach the skills of critical thinking.

The Schools: Immediate Problems and Solutions.

The main problem our schools face is inadequate funding. This dictates overcrowded classrooms, underpaid teachers, inadequate facilities and learning materials. It blocks ongoing education for educators, alternative schools and programs, and social service systems to address family and social problems, especially relevant for the growing number of immigrant children entering our schools. And it impedes the development of holistic approaches to solve the drug problem.

While Greens will join struggles to overcome this problem, encouraging the shifting of funds from military budgets to social

needs, we also emphasize the need to grasp every opportunity, every space, to improve or to resist the existing system. We can empower children and teaching by encouraging active participation in the classroom, reshaping its physical structure (the teacher need not be at the head of the class). Small group processes and cooperative learning like peer counseling and learning, active listening, conflict resolution, and critical thinking are among the techniques we encourage.

There is also space in the curriculum for creative teachers. We can incorporate ecological wisdom, sustainability, respect for diversity, and social justice in our classrooms. We can raise such issues as the need for peace, the abuse of animals, the contributions of women, and the history of indigenous and minority peoples. We urge teachers to network in their schools and professional organizations, especially unions, to support each other in striving for these goals.

Green teachers need to raise questions about myths like the inevitability of progress, the desirability of growth, and the notion that science and technology necessarily imply domination over nature. We have deep concern about the growing direct intervention of corporations in our schools. Not only do they promote vocationalism and conformity, thereby narrowing the horizons of what is possible, but also they actively promote the culture of consumption and waste. The recent attempt to link advertising to children’s news broadcasts on Channel One is the most arrogant example of this trend.

We need to look closely at proposals for a voucher system. On the one hand, it offers the possibility of liberating students and teachers from the tyranny of lockstep education and bloated school bureaucracy. On the other hand, it directly threatens poor and minority parents with further deterioration of the public schools, which many regard as the only hope for their children’s future.

Higher Education. [not yet submitted]

Educating Society.

Beyond the schools, Greens must bring their message to the public, through a variety of strategies. First of all, we educate through concrete projects and actions of local Green groups, and even more directly, by the personal example we provide in living Green principles. We need to educate community groups about local and global problems and about Green solutions.

We must recognize the tremendous educational power of existing and emerging communication and computer technologies, for good or ill. We need to monitor the media, to convey the Green message through every possible channel of information. One specific example to circumvent monopoly control of media is to use alternatively produced films and video tapes through Green and other alternate networks to convey our message.

We must also educate policy makers.

Bioregional Education. [not yet submitted]

Green Educational Inreach.

The education of Greens themselves is an ongoing concern. We recommend that internal education be a regular part of our Green meetings and forums, so we can be clear about what unites us, as well as what divides us. Furthermore, it helps new members and friends to learn what we are about.

Finally we urge that the I.C., Regional Groups and EcoNet/PeaceNet be used to provide bibliographies and resources for continued development of a Green educational policy. We here at



the SPAKA Conference are committed to become the nucleus of a Green Educational Policy Network to work towards the Boulder Conference.

[Coordinator left country without sending in revisions.]



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Energy

Our global ecological crisis is a direct result of an energy-use lifestyle based upon the consumption of non-renewable fossil fuels and nuclear power.

The form of society through which the common individual must consume this energy is not simply one of personal choice. Rather, it is substantially dictated from above by governmental and corporate interests that profit from it.

If we do not alter our energy use soon and drastically, the ecological crisis may be exacerbated past a point where we can resolve it.

This urgency is not communicated to us. Indeed, it is often hidden from us, because a system that would satisfy the energy needs of the world's citizenry while ensuring ecological health and balance would deprive the powers that be of their control and profit.

General Energy Policy:

1) Create new and redesign existing human environments to be as energy-efficient as possible. Energy-efficiency means first

a) determining what our needs truly are (a shift away from a planned-obsolence, disposable society), and then

b) meeting those needs with greater efficiency.

2) Simultaneously, plan to fulfill the remaining energy needs with solar and other renewable technologies (wind, small hydro, hydrogen, etc.)

General Strategy:

1) Eliminate subsidies and tax benefits to nuclear and other energy corporations and utilities, as well as to the timber, mining, cattle grazing, agribusiness, and airline industries.

Examine the pace at which subsidies are eliminated on a case-by-case basis so that desirable ecological practices are not lost in the transition before they have an opportunity to establish themselves.

2) Reverse the spreading dangers of nuclear fission and waste disposal through opposition to construction and operation of nuclear reactors as a source of electricity, weapons material and food irradiation.

3) Establish a "true cost pricing" policy, where the consumer of a product or service pays the real environmental cost. These costs would include the ecological damage caused during the procurement

of raw materials (oil spills, strip mining); the problems created during the performance of a service or use of a product (auto pollution, soil erosion from agribusiness); the cost of disposing, recycling, or otherwise neutralizing a product or service's residue (landfills, toxic wastes); and the physical deterioration that comes from living in the world of stress and pollution that these practices create.

4) Enact regulatory measures

5) Partially subsidize the rebuilding of certain infrastructures along more ecologically sustainable lines, so that the cost of transition is born partly by society. Examples here include subsidies to public transportation, energy conservation, renewable energy research and development, and to small-scale organic agriculture. This funding could be directed away from presently subsidized unecological practices, such as the nuclear industry.

Nuclear Power Strategy

A fundamental aspect of reversing the destruction of the Earth is the cessation of nuclear fission as an energy source. The establishment assessment that nuclear power is a large source of centralized energy has made it the leading recipient of federal energy subsidies to date. Yet the government's protection of nuclear energy has shielded it from billions of dollars of indirect costs such as damaged health and environmental degradation.

New studies estimating economic fallout from Chernobyl of up to \$400 billion by the end of the century indicate that the dangers of another disaster are unacceptable. Yet commercial reactors in the U.S. release radiation equivalent to the Chernobyl disaster every 4 years from normal operations.

The Greens are calling for a complete phase out of the current generation of nuclear reactors. We recognize that the Republican controlled federal government and the nuclear industry are in the process of pushing for a new generation of nuclear reactor construction in the U.S. Therefore it is critical that the Greens help the anti-nuclear community with the following goals:

1. Oppose the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's one step licensing process for new reactors;

2. Reverse massive federal funding for design and development of new reactors, much of which is being tested by the military and the Department of Energy;

3. Stop plans to deregulate nuclear waste so that it can be dumped by the nuclear industry into our air, water and soils, or recycled back into consumer products;

The Greens promise to invoke the following changes upon U.S. nuclear policy:

1. Repeal of the 1954 Atomic Energy Act;

2. Repeal of the Price-Anderson Act;

3. Elimination of all nuclear subsidies, except for waste clean-up and storage. Primary scientific investigations would be limited to reversal of the worldwide increases in background radiation caused by human technology, and the study of benign forms of ionizing radiation;

4. Cleanup of all nuclear waste sites, including mill tailings sites;

5. Cancellation of the DOE's geological high level waste repository program, and replacement with surface monitored storage (not under military jurisdiction) until full consensus on long term solutions is reached;



6. Repeal of the federal Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982;
7. Removal of all economic trade-offs when establishing environmental safety levels;
8. Cancellation of the SP-100 program for nuclear reactors in space;
9. Dismantlement of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and its goal of promoting nuclear energy, to be replaced by a civilian nuclear decommissioning board charged with the rapid phaseout of nuclear power nationwide;
10. Creation of a Conversion Commission for the re-training of nuclear engineers into other specialty areas such as solar energy, least cost energy planning and urban redesign;
11. Creation of independent, public access radiation monitoring networks at all commercial and military nuclear facilities;
12. Restructuring of all national radiation safety bodies, removing the nuclear industry's biased monopoly of control;
13. Cancel the use of irradiation of food products and the safe decommissioning of production facilities;
14. Restructuring of the nuclear medicine establishment and its investigatory process and usage;
15. Final Objective: Complete phase-out of nuclear fission on a commercial scale.

General Transportation Policy

- 1) Raise the average miles per gallon requirement in a graduated manner to reach 60 mpg for cars and 45 mpg for light trucks by 2010
- 2) Once a high miles per gallon standard is set, establish substantial 'gas guzzler' tax increases when purchasing autos that get a lower mpg and 'gas sipper' rebates for those that get higher. Variable yearly registration fees reflecting fuel efficiency is another way to incorporate this concept
- 3) Once a high miles per gallon standard is set, meet the remaining needs with environmentally benign renewable fuels that are decentrally produced, controlled, and distributed.
- 4) We firmly oppose the Bush administration's singular focus upon natural gas as a motor fuel source because natural-gas generated methanol is not renewable; because a commitment to it would delay and make more expensive (economically and environmentally) the transition to renewables; because it would continue to exacerbate the Greenhouse effect; and because it would at the same time further the oligarchical control of our energy resources.
- 5) Raise the gas tax in a graduated yet significant manner over several years
- 6) Direct additional funds generated from the gas tax
 - a) into public transit development and
 - b) research and development of alternative fuels (for both private and public transit) such as solarelectric, solar hydrogen, and diverse forms of biomass
- 7) Provide rebates and/or public transit discounts to low income drivers to mitigate against the regressive nature of gas taxes
- 8) To make public transit more convenient and financially attractive,
 - a) Reexamine zoning laws that separate jobs and housing so that mixed-use development and redevelopment can begin to decrease our need to travel long distances for work, play, food, and other basic necessities.
 - b) Mixed-use development must at the same time be

accomplished in conjunction with public transit development, so that public transit stations can provide ready access to and from population, business, commercial, and entertainment centers

- c) Require the rail industry to protect potential urban (and interurban) rights-of-way for first consideration for public use.
- d) Allocate a portion of increased gas tax revenues be put aside in order to finance purchasing rights-of-way and developing the ensuing rail lines.
- e) High occupancy vehicle lanes should be added along existing congested transit corridors to make bus service along these routes more convenient
- f) Establish disincentives for private auto use such as the elimination of free parking for those areas (other than residential) that are well-served by public transit.
- g) Encourage carpooling through the establishment of variable tolls and parking fees based upon the number of passengers per vehicle.
- h) Require businesses of 100 or more employees to achieve a base ridership per vehicle (for example 1.5-2.5) for their employees; and to encourage this subsidize (through gas tax revenue) the purchase by businesses of solar electric or other environmentally benign fueled vans for the use of their employees.
- 9) Recognizing that the trucking industry does not pay its true cost
 - a) Establish miles per gallon standards for heavy trucks
 - b) Establish gas guzzler taxes for heavy trucks that do not meet this standard and gas sipper taxes for those that do
 - c) Raise the gas tax on diesel fuel
- 10) Eliminate the subsidization of airlines and airports

Building Codes General Strategy

Increasing the efficiency of our buildings and technology can reduce energy demand to levels where solar and other environmentally more benign renewable fuels can replace fossil fuels. By implementing a true cost pricing system that assigns the environmental cost of burning fossil fuels like oil, gas, and coal to their purchase price, the shift to renewables can be made cost effective.

- 1) Require high energy efficiency levels in new construction; reward super-efficiency with tax rebates
- 2) Encourage energy-efficiency retrofitting of existing structures through true-cost pricing mechanism; levy energy guzzler/energy sipper tax on existing structures at point of resale
- 3) Require new construction to achieve 1/4-1/2 of its heating energy from the sun. Require that variances be sought to demonstrate why solar technology ought not to be used.
- 4) Establish high energy-efficiency standards for lighting and home appliances; establish energy guzzler/energy sipper tax schedules corresponding to this rate
- 5) Require the use of solar and other renewable fuel technologies in the construction and retrofitting of government buildings
- 6) Accelerate the use of cogeneration in industrial practices through the implementation of true cost pricing mechanisms

Foreign Policy

Rather than encouraging Third World and Eastern European development along the same environmentally unconscious line as the West, we strongly advocate a fundamental tenet of American foreign policy be to export (as well as promote the domestic



production of) renewable energy technologies

Greenhouse Effect Response Strategy: In order to contribute to an eventual worldwide stabilization of carbon dioxide by 2050, the United States must begin by reducing its emissions by 35% by the year 2005.

Wind Power

The amount of wind power theoretically available in the United States is equal to an amount 40 times current total energy consumption. While only a small fraction of this can be utilized because of available land constraints, the potential for renewable energy is nevertheless great.

Currently, wind power is already nearly competitive to conventionally generated electricity. By the mid-1990s, it is expected to become even more so. When the environmental costs of conventionally-generated electricity are figured in, however, wind power is one of the most economical fuel sources available anywhere.

In a full environmental cost scenario, it would be economical to build wind turbines on available land to meet over 40% of current U.S. electricity demand. Even without an environmental cost pricing mechanism in place, wind turbines could still meet 20% of domestic demand at an economical price over the next 20-30 years.

Because wind power does not contribute to the Greenhouse Effect and particularly because it would be displacing a great deal of coal-generated electricity (and the carbon dioxide it produces), it stands as one of our most promising tools in confronting global warming and climactic change.

Hydroelectric Power

Currently, hydroelectric power generated from our nation's rivers contributes 10-12% of domestic energy supply. This is the product of having developed half of all potential hydroelectric resources in the country.

While hydroelectric power does not contribute to the Greenhouse Effect, its other environmental consequences are highly problematic and would show up as quite costly under a true cost environmental pricing system. For example, large and even small dams flood and destroy forests, farmland, wildlife, and ultimately upset the ecological balance of hundreds of square miles around. Flooding the land releases mercury into the water, poisoning the fish and the people that eat them. Native people are often displaced by damming, with the effect of destroying their traditional ways of life. Even fish in surrounding waters are adversely affected, because changes in river-flow rate, temperature, and oxygen sediment content alter the balance of plant and fish life.

Given the ecological consequences of large scale hydroelectric power, we do not recommend any more development of this industry.

Greenhouse Response

The climactic instability, the destruction of ecosystems, the undermining of agriculture and of all the necessary conditions for human survival; these consequences of an ever-worsening Greenhouse effect are the ultimate expression of an energy-use lifestyle in total disharmony with the environment. Much of the Greenhouse Effect has been brought about by the burning of fossil fuels in the last

150 years and particularly in the last 50. Because most of this document advocates a transition away from those fuels, what is incumbent here is to ascertain the rate and schedule by which fossil fuel emission will be reduced.

It is too late to reverse the Greenhouse Effect; now we can only slow it down and lessen its effects. In order to stabilize atmospheric carbon dioxide, which is the predominant Greenhouse gas, it will be necessary to reduce emission by 50-80% by the middle of next century. To reach this goal, the 1988 Toronto World Conference on the Changing Atmosphere suggested a worldwide reduction of

20% by the year 2005. Since developing countries in

Eastern Europe and the Third World will increase their production of emissions, countries such as the United States and the Soviet Union (which together already produce almost half of global CO₂ emissions) would be required to reduce theirs by 35%.

It has been estimated that renewables can displace 8-15% of projected U.S. carbon dioxide by the year 2000 (the range depends upon how vigorously energy efficiency is pursued). Further, government studies suggest that renewables have the potential to reduce virtually all CO₂ emissions by 2010.

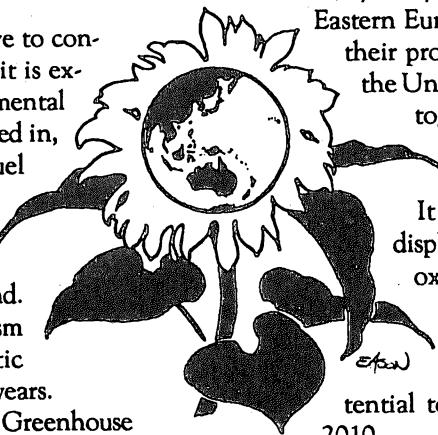
From an energy policy standpoint, the best response to the Greenhouse is the one advocated in this document—a swift and dramatic shift to renewable fuels. Hand in hand with our domestic shift must also be a drastic increase in foreign aid of renewable technologies to Eastern Europe and the Third World.

Other practices that, while not specifically energy policies, are nevertheless fundamental in addressing the Greenhouse Effect include: a) halting extensive deforestation, legislating sustainable forestry practices, and promoting reforestation (including an emphasis on soil remineralization in order to accelerate the reforestation process), b) immediately banning all CFC's (and design environmentally benign substitutes), and c) slowing and ultimately stabilizing population growth.

Community Control of Electric Utilities

The central question is one of political control and economic ownership of the energy system. The popular hope is that solar and renewable energy technology will provide an opportunity to break down monopoly control and give birth to a new, competitive, decentralized power industry over which consumers will have a greater voice. However, it is not technology that determines the choices that we make; it is politics.

The private power industry is attempting to expand its influence and operations in preparation for a new wave of centralized electric expansion tied to visions of all-electric transportation, all-electric cities, and high-tech reindustrialism. Utility executives warn of impending brownouts and blackouts and power rationing unless new coal and nuclear plants are built. They discourage independent power production by limiting transmission access and offering special rate reductions to retain industrial customers who want to generate their own power. They are also exploiting the emerging public concern over global warming to facilitate the accelerated



licensing and construction of a new generation of nuclear reactors.

The public has been given no say over this corporate vision of the future even though each community is expected to quietly accept the increasing social, economic, and environmental risks. Environmentalists have moved the fight for the nation's energy future to state and federal regulatory arenas, but there is little reason to believe that these regulatory agencies can break the monopoly control of the industry and select a future different from the centralized visions it has mapped out.

To be sure, a number of states have adopted comprehensive least-cost planning strategies to require utilities to weigh various demand and supply options to best meet consumer energy needs, but the results so far are mixed at best. Utility executives continue to believe that the prosperity of the nation depends on increasing consumption of electricity, and downplay the role that independent power production can play in meeting future energy needs.

Electricity should be viewed as an essential community resource. Cheap, reliable power is essential to the economic well-being of local businesses and citizens. It is for this reason that the American Greens support the growing movement for public power. Today, 2203 municipal utilities and public utility districts deliver electricity to 10% of the US. They are run by elected or appointed boards of commissioners and offer rates that average 30% less than those of private companies. Public systems can keep rates low, for they are not bound by the profit motive. Instead, they provide electricity as a non-profit service, emphasizing efficiency and minimizing growth.

For private power companies, conservation and least-cost efforts may be pursued to a small degree, but they are anathema to a business whose purpose is to grow, build, and maximize profits. Public power systems can give a community some democratic control over the kinds of growth and technologies it may want to pursue. In the best public systems, local voters can approve or deny major investments. Public power should not be seen as a panacea, for it is a system that carries its own set of problems. However, it can provide a political and business structure that allows a process in which debate over development options can occur, with local people weighing social, economic, and environmental costs against the need for new power plants, conservation, or other alternatives.

Reform of existing public power systems and creation of new ones can also provide the missing political and economic bridge for a transition to least-cost policies and use of decentralized, solar, cogeneration, and other renewable technologies. It can also provide a model for democratization and reform in European countries where public power systems are run by the national government and are often unresponsive to local voters. Legislation enacted at the state level can provide for decentralized, public ownership, and democratic control of the nation's energy system. This legislation would enable municipalities to join together to create public utility districts (PUDs), to acquire utility property through eminent domain proceedings, and meet future energy needs through integrated least-cost planning. Existing public power systems need to be democratized and integrated into these PUDs.

The PUDs must also be authorized to issue tax exempt bonds to finance conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable energy projects. Restrictions on the use of tax-exempt bonds to acquire private utility property must be repealed at the federal level.

Electric Appliances and Extremely Low Frequency

Literally all electric appliances produce dangerous Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) non-ionizing radiation that is harmful to human health. Pregnant women and their unborn children are the most susceptible to the magnetic fields given off from computers to clocks or any appliance that has a transformer. ELF frequencies must be either eliminated in all future appliances or else protective shields used. Pregnant mothers would be granted transfer from computer terminal work requirements without loss of pay or job until their child is born or until all terminals have been shielded from ELF.

NOTE: Detailed analysis of this SPAKA plus citations and bibliography were not printed but are available supplements.



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Food & Agriculture

Ever since Europeans began taking control of the continent away from native agriculturists over three hundred and fifty years ago, the record of agriculture shows as many unacknowledged failures as acknowledged successes. Agricultural land now exhibits the effects of having been unremittingly looted, mined, poisoned, and ecologically devastated. An increasingly vulnerable food production and distribution system has become characterized by dependency-producing centralization, unjust distribution, and food items of questionable nutritional value. Agriculture and the entire food system must be transformed so that they truly meet basic human needs and that they generate the means which are regenerative, active forces in healing the earth.

Ecologically-based Sustainable Agriculture. The Green Program calls for an ecologically-based sustainable agricultural system that moves as rapidly as possible towards regional/bioregional self-reliance. Agriculture is to work within ecological cycles to preserve the health of both the human population and the land; whatever gets taken from the land ultimately has to be put back into it in order to maintain its productivity. Permaculture and natural farming methods including permanent crops need to be advanced and factory methods halted. Greens call for halting of all uses of pesticide poisons and the phasing out of artificial fertilizers.

Resource Conservation. The Green Program calls for the promotion of soil conservation and regeneration as one of our nation's top priorities. Greens call for the elimination of the water depletion tax allowance to enable the conservation of water resources. The export of logs needs to be banned. We need to initiate a nationwide conservation program of paper products, including restrictions on consumer packaging and advertisement. We need to fund research to develop alternatives to fossil-fuel-based fertilizers—alternatives that will regenerate the soil and reduce water pollution. Since fossil



fuels are implicated in global warming, their use should be curtailed in the whole fossil-fuel-based, mechanized agricultural system, with possible implications for greater utilization of home and community gardens and animal/human labor.

Agrarian Reform Policies. Greens call for policies that provide economic incentives to agricultural producers to the extent they are fully motivated to enhance the long-term health of the soil. We need to change farm programs and tax and fiscal policies that presently place small and family farms in a disadvantaged position, compared to that of large corporate farms. Greens support research in the areas of appropriate technology, sustainable agriculture and permaculture. We oppose patenting of all life forms, whether developed by gene-splicing techniques, selective breeding, or other methods. Greens promote policies that limit the amount of agricultural land which can be owned or controlled by any given person, corporation, governmental entity, or organization, ideally resulting in land availability for present agricultural workers. Such workers meanwhile have the right to fair wages and decent working conditions—especially protection from the hazards of working with agricultural chemicals. We promote policies that advance community and family organic gardens as a top Green priority. We call for acceleration of the process of setting “organic certification standards.” Such a process, equally accountable to consumers and distributors, will assist growers in their marketing endeavors.

Resettlement/Redesign of Rural Communities. Greens recognize an imbalance in urban/rural population ratios. Urban centers are crowded and seriously disrupt local ecosystems, while some rural areas are in need of more people to live on and tend the land. Greens advocate the following policies and incentives for the voluntary resettlement from densely populated areas to smaller communities in rural areas, through programs which incorporate the following: a) helping people to live in harmony with their ecosystems, b) ecological methods of food production for household use, c) non-exploitative land tenure practices which insure social justice and preserve natural or wilderness areas, d) communities planned for diverse work opportunities that reflect the economic approaches of both local self-reliance and world interdependence, e) development of renewable, more accessible energy sources.

Regionalization/Localization of the Food System. Greens recognize that our food system is characterized by centralization and heavy dependence upon oil, thereby making our food system highly vulnerable. Greens advocate regionalizing our food system to the extent that regions/bioregions become to a considerable degree self-reliant in food production. We advance the following policies: a) as a long-term goal, phase out the import of agricultural products which can be produced in this country; concomitantly, enable exporting countries to increase their self-sufficiency, b) initiate steps to end ownership and/or control of agricultural lands, as well as production, distribution, or marketing operations by corporations based—or with substantial holdings located—outside the state or region where the production takes place,

c) initiate steps to form food producer associations and cooperatives within regions, and to form economic development organizations that advance the manufacture of value-added products within regions. Greens call for policies that will add to the true environmental and social costs, presently hidden, of producing food by conventional, chemical-intensive agriculture—thereby result-

ing in competitive prices for safe, organically-produced foods.

Green Lifestyle. Greens recognize that western world societies are addicted to consumption patterns of food, energy, and material things that are beyond the carrying capacity of the Earth and are grossly unjust to the other peoples of the world. Greens promote lifestyle changes that counter this addiction. We need to change our diets and patterns of food purchases to reflect the approach of self-reliance both in our own country and in other lands. We must promote attitudes that will not sanction the exploitation of the Earth nor of peoples throughout the world.

Education. Greens advocate education as means to promote ecologically sound, value-based food policies. We promote means to effect change in our eating habits—eating lower on the food chain, cutting back on exotic foods, giving preference to regionally produced organic foods grown on biologically balanced soils, and confronting the health, ethical, and economic factors of meat and dairy-based diets (e.g., begin phasing out the use of grains as animal feed, so that in the long term all animals raised for food be raised on grass, tree fodder, kitchen waste, and other green matter.) Greens call for policies that will require land grant universities to be more fully engaged in research in sustainable, organic, ecologically-balanced agriculture. Greens advocate comprehensive public educational measures that will advance an organic, regional, and more self-reliant food system.

Global Responsibility. Greens recognize that our society has a responsibility to other countries, especially to so-called developing countries that have been exploited by transnational and agribusiness corporations, in making the transition to self-reliance in food and other basic necessities. Greens call for the ban of exports of chemical biocides except for situational emergency use, or limited use under the “least is best” IPM strategies. Greens call for the end of exportation, under any circumstances, of chemicals prohibited and unregistered in the U.S. We advocate an end to all loan programs to promote “Green Revolution” style, capital-intensive, high-tech/highly mechanized, chemical agriculture. We call for a ban on agricultural products imported by any company or government which have a detrimental effect on ecosystems or exploit indigenous or other workers in their production and distribution. Greens advocate the elimination of the use of food export as an economic or political weapon. We call for the repeal of the Farm Export Act. We seek international agreements to stabilize commodity prices based on ecologically-based, sustainable yields, ensuring that Third World and developing countries are provided the opportunity to participate in trade. Greens call for the restructuring of the World Bank and other financial institutions to serve ecological development and subsistence food needs of the Third World instead of cash crops for export. Greens support the policy of providing and transporting foods in emergency situations to starving peoples wherever they are located.

Life Form Considerations:

Biotechnology. Agriculture has been engaged in manipulating the genetic pool of plants and animals through selective breeding for thousands of years. However, excessive exploitation of living things—including the land—for production and profit beyond reasonable needs and without respect for the inherent ecological rights of those entities has resulted both in the destruction and degradation of land and living things all over the Earth as well as the



eroding of the human spirit and values. "Commodification" of all nonhuman existence is destroying both the Earth's ecological integrity and the human spirit. We must re-evaluate our entire rationale for "selective breeding," even as we continue it, understanding that "selective breeding" does not, in the context of maintaining ecological integrity and respect, irretrievably, suddenly, or radically alter the genetic line of a species, or compromise its ability to breed true in successive generations, or come about as a result of the artificial introduction of genetic material from another species. Greens recognize that both hybridization and gene-splicing or recombinant DNA are becoming increasingly dangerous and arrogant interventions, which force nature to give more than it can give within the larger balances of life. Greens call for a reconsideration of the effects, potentially far-reaching and unforeseen, resulting from hybridization and especially gene-splicing/recombinant DNA in agriculture/food systems.

Greens support efforts to increase and maintain species diversity.



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Forestry

No restrictions on citizens rights to judicial review on forestry plans.

Other proposals deal with reducing pollution that causes loss of forestry ecosystems.

C. Implementation:

By mandated legislation up from the grassroots that would give more rights to the "commons" and to natural diversity than to the freedom to make a profit from resources of the planet. The earth is not owned by anybody.

Education from pre-school up on the way humans can learn to fit into the ecology and not dominate it.

Tax incentives for restoration, protection, conservation instead of consumption.

(Contents of the above are additions to the original statement by Jules Fraytet and can be debated and revised at Boulder meeting. Practical implementations were not fully covered in Eugene.)

D. Conclusion:

Present forestry practices and global deforestation are adequate rationale for proposals and strategies.

E. Input from locals not integrated:

1. The need to address what happens to the forestry workers displaced by large scale conservation and wilderness set asides.

2. Alternatives to wood pulp must include hemp.

There are blocks to the Forestry SPAKA if these two issues are not addressed in the statement.



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Health and Healing

Notes on the Process

Since the publication of the Eugene SPAKA statement in the Fall 1990 *Green Letter*, three mailings have gone out to the ±16 people on the list for this Issue Working Group. The 11/4/89 mailing included seven letters and an article submitted by one of the correspondents. None of the correspondents identified themselves as representing local Green groups. The 1/16/90 mailing provided those on the list with a copy of the revised statement in advance of its publication in *Green Letter*, which some of us received as late as last week. The 3/17/90 mailing included all the comments received to date in response to the revisions. There were six letters, one from a person identified as representing a local Green group.

Since the 3/17 mailing, additional material has come from the Social Justice Issue Working Group (via *Green Letter*), one local Green group (via EcoNet), representatives of two local Green groups, and members of two local Green groups who did not indicate that their comments reflect those of their groups. It was difficult to

Local level proposals:

End to all clearcutting methods

Public campaigns to encourage recycling and conservation

Promote alternatives to wood pulp.

Tax breaks to ecological forestry practices.

Set aside more wilderness areas.

Elimination of herbicide and insecticide use.

No more large monoculture timber farms

End to corporate takeovers.



get participants to discuss issues other than those they championed; thus with a few exceptions, none of the recommended revisions have received comment from others. One participant suggested an addition to the list of contacts and resources; a few suggested specific implementation activities (at least indirectly). No one offered to write/revise portions of the statement, so this has all been done by one person. There was also no discussion of the upcoming gathering at Boulder, so it is not certain as of this writing who will attend to speak on behalf of this group.

Since there was so little discussion of the proposed changes, they are identified in the text by those who proposed them, using the following:

SB-Stephen Buhner, a member of Rocky Mountain Greens

JL-Jon Li, a member of Yolo Greens

SJ-Social Justice Issue Working Group

JR-Jo Rubba, representing Canyon Greens

NH-Nancy Harvey, representing the Boulder Green Alliance

DO-David Oaks, Clearinghouse on Human Rights & Psychiatry

DD-David Danielson, Committee for a National Health Program

SW-Southern Willamette Greens, received via EcoNet

CS-Cullen Stuart, Lincoln, ME

PR-Philip Roos, Jefferson City, MO

[SB-expresses concern about the platform's reliance on the conventional medical paradigm, encourages emphasis on "non-technological and non-interventive procedures, freedom of choice, procedures which emphasize long term quality over short term gains, processes which allow of human dignity and exchange of caring between practitioner and client, use of technology which does not negatively impact the environment... , low cost human vs. high technology/high cost intervention, procedures which emphasize the individual's ability to deeply heal rather than emphasizing suppression of symptoms." Comments did not include suggestions for revisions or additions to existing text, and were received too late to clarify.]

[DD comments on the statement's lack of "comment on the transition from what exists now to our vision of the future, or on the resources needed to sustain such a vision. Nor is there much critical comment on current practices, where it might be appropriate."]

[JL observes that the statement "completely ignores the fundamental issues of funding decisions and resource allocation."]

Introduction

The World Health Organization defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." Ivan Illich provides a broader description, explaining that "healthy people are those who live in healthy houses on a healthy diet; in an environment equally fit for birth, growth, work, healing, and dying; sustained by a culture which enhances the conscious acceptance of limits to population, of aging, of incomplete recovery and ever imminent death." This definition and description guide our policy statements.

The state of human health is a reflection of the health of Gaia, our mother the Earth [JR-recommends deleting the underlined words as "too mystical."] The regeneration of human health depends upon the health of the place where we live, the way we treat one another, the realization of our personal power, and related practices affecting ourselves and our communities. Access to basic health care should

be a right, not a privilege, for all people. Recognizing that health care alone does not create health, we also call for clean water, fresh air, nutritious food, adequate shelter, and appropriate education as basic rights [JR adds, "which support health"].

Beset with crisis upon crisis, the health care system in the United States is ripe for change. Realistic proposals are more likely to gain acceptance now than at any other time in this century. Different interest groups (many of which are listed in the resource section of this statement) are likely to support different parts of this statement. Our challenge is to recognize the common ground that underlies our proposals, and to acknowledge the power of our unified voices and actions during this time of transition.

The values underlying the concept of ecological health are acceptance of limitations, cooperation, respect, and mutuality, not the values of money, power and domination over the environment, self, and others. These ecological values open the door to successful interdependence and self-determination. In this view, health and healing are no longer the specialized concerns of professionals and institutions, but primarily the responsibility of the community and each individual in it.

Policy Proposals

1. Organization and ownership

- We prefer a decentralized model for health care services delivery, assuring local accountability and community participation.
- We encourage and support community/public ownership of health care facilities and agencies.

• [JR- "Here is the place to argue against corporate, free-market models for health care."]

• [JL- "The health service delivery system is governed by locally-elected community boards that have a majority of health consumers and a minority of health providers... The community boards each pick a representative who serves on the regional funding board which allocates the statewide per capita allocation.... All community hospitals and neighborhood clinics are run by the community board. All regional hospitals are administered by regional boards."]

2. Financing

• We support recommendations for a national health care program when consistent with other proposals in this platform. Such a program should be funded by general tax revenues coming from a combination of personal and corporate income taxes and from taxes imposed on unhealthy practices such as cigarette smoking (personal) and polluting water supplies (corporate). [NH recommends deleting the underlined portion of this sentence.]

• We call for removal of financial barriers preventing people from obtaining basic health care. Co-payments and deductibles, if used at all, should be based on ability to pay. [DD says, "If co-payments are based on ability to pay, a means test and bookkeeping system are required that would become an expensive administrative barrier. Don't straddle on this issue."]

• We recognize that health care costs are rising at a rate higher than that of general inflation, and agree that the national health care program must include restrictions to contain the cost of care. It is probably most appropriate that these restrictions be adopted at the state level, within Federal guidelines. [DD cautions, "States cannot stand up to the greedy providers now, and they won't even with Federal guidelines. One fight in Washington over health care



costs is better than 50 fights where monied interests will usually prevail.]

• We expect that cost savings will be realized by reducing unnecessary use of high technology interventions, by emphasizing prevention over treatment whenever possible, by returning responsibility for care back to individuals and the community, by eliminating duplicative facilities and services, and by limiting malpractice awards. [PR adds "a properly monitored public system should save substantially on the redundancies and costs associated with health insurance..."] [DD notes that "Cost savings will also come from universality, and the reduction of administrative overhead...Our estimate is 22% waste and profit, with over \$60 billion recoverable in a unified...system."]

• Health care consumers and providers should have a say in state-level decisions about the allocation of health care resources. [According to DD, "If providers have a say, consumers usually don't because of information...differentials. Planners should plan, without providers in a position to exert formal control over the allocation of resources."]

3. Health Care Personnel

• [JR] "This section does not emphasize strongly enough the shift in values needed-away from a system based on \$, power & 'market forces' and towards caring & commitment to health maintenance/healing. Reform of medical schools needed: less cutthroat; elimination of ...long shifts for interns/residents; training in psychology & human relations."

• [JL]-suggests "Granny docs' who have a grandchild, do two years of nurse practitioner type training, and then provide ten years of primary care and community consumer health education."

• We support the implementation of clinical training programs that emphasize a more collaborative approach to healing. Collaboration should include other practitioners as well as the person seeking care. [PR thinks the second sentence here is redundant.] [DD suggests the addition of statements here regarding the match between community needs and numbers of practitioners in training, and the availability of training programs to help practitioners learn new skills or review existing skills.]

• We encourage the development of career tracks in health care that enable workers with interest and ability to advance beyond the occupations through which they entered the system and into positions of greater responsibility. [DD wonders if this implies that we think all nurses want to become physicians. Certainly not!] In fact, we suggest that physicians be required to work for a period of time in an entry-level position in the health care system before beginning advanced clinical training. This might help to democratize the work environment.

• We call for equitable pay and fringe benefits for those health care workers who provide most of the hands-on care.

• We favor worker and client participation in the governance of health care facilities. This participation should be based on interest and commitment rather than on social or educational status.

• We propose the development of services that would enable laypeople to obtain free information about health-related issues. Such services could be run by trained personnel, and might be located in libraries or community centers to assure accessibility.

• We support the establishment of incentives encouraging more physicians to obtain general, primary care training as opposed to

training in specialties.

• We call for programs aimed at recruiting members of underrepresented ethnic groups into medical/health professions.

• We encourage practitioners to work in communities where their skills are needed.

• We call for the implementation of training experiences enabling all health care workers to increase their cultural sensitivity. This includes the training of health care workers fluent in languages other than English.

4. Assuring Access to Care

• We recognize that limited ability to pay is not the only barrier many people experience in seeking needed health care. [JR wants more on this barrier; a listing of other barriers.]

• We thus call for the development of a decentralized network of basic health care services, with particular attention paid to the needs of inner-city neighborhoods and rural or frontier regions. This network might include use of mobile vans and satellite offices in remote locations. It may also include siting part-time offices in high-traffic locations, such as schools, worksites, and shopping areas. [DD asks for recognition of "hospitals, nursing homes, clinics, and offices for health care workers that need to be built, repaired, maintained."] [JL says there should be "thousands of clinics-one in each and every neighborhood."]

• We ask employers to provide workers with reasonable amounts of leave time to enable them to obtain needed health care for themselves and family members/loved ones.

• We support the integration of traditional healing practices into community health programs, particularly those that serve significant ethnic populations. [JR-integration "in what way? Many such practices are harmful."]

• In order to assure that community-based health care practices are addressing the health care needs of the people they serve, we encourage members of those communities to participate with the health care practitioners in periodically identifying and prioritizing those needs, as well as in developing appropriate interventions to meet them.

5. Range of Available Services

• We recognize that the range of services presently eligible for reimbursement does not fully meet many people's needs. [DD asks if the use of the word "reimbursement" means that the consumer pays first and gets paid back. Not necessarily, it could simply refer to the payment of funds to the provider from a third party, like the government.] [JR] "Reimbursement by whom? Do we support the continuation of corporate for-profit health insurance? I don't think we should."

• We call for the inclusion of health education and basic training in self care as reimbursable health care services.

• In addition, we seek to assure that comprehensive health education is offered to all children in public, private, and parochial schools. Such health education should include consideration of anatomy and physiology as well as self care, self esteem, values clarification and responsible decision making.

• We encourage the establishment of appropriate health education programs aimed at reaching all segments of the community. Such programs might be provided over radio and television stations, through printed materials left in shops and community centers, and by health fairs and workshops held regularly in convenient locations.



tions.

• We support the use of complementary therapies (e.g. herbal medicines, massage, hypnosis) in health care practices. [DD wonders if we mean that these workers are under the supervision of a physician. Actually, workers are not mentioned in this section, but in the next. This section refers to the use of the therapies themselves, whether by a physician or a practitioner with complementary training. If more than one practitioner is involved, the relationship should be one of mutual respect.]

• We encourage the inclusion of nurse practitioners, physician assistants, and nurse midwives, as well as alternative health care practitioners, such as chiropractors, naturopaths, homeopaths, acupuncturists, lay midwives and massage therapists in health care practices, and as full participants in reimbursement under the national health care program.

• We call for the use of community-based health advisors to assist laypeople in determining the type of practitioner they should seek. These advisors may be the same persons referred to in the health care personnel section.

6. Assuring Quality of Care

• We suggest that quality and efficacy of various health care interventions be monitored by panels including laypeople as well as professionals. Both medical and complementary therapies should be subject to review. [DD thinks "this is weak. One needs a statistical base, some standards of practice, and profiling."]

• We strongly encourage the development of less-costly alternatives to the current malpractice insurance system. [JR wants examples here.]

• [JL- "...have the consumer evaluate each unit of service, and tabulate the results and publish them monthly and yearly, so that anti-consumer doctors can be thrown out of the system."]

7. Lifestyle Choices

• We acknowledge that individuals have some [a large] measure of personal responsibility for their own health, and seek [via education] to discourage high-risk behaviors such as cigarette smoking, excessive use of alcohol and other potentially addictive substances, eating a high-fat or high-salt diet, sedentary lifestyle, and unsafe sexual practices. [bracketed additions/changes from NH] [JR-add "unsafe driving practices, e.g. no seat belts/cycle helmets; excessive speed."]

• At the same time we believe that individual lifestyle choices are largely affected by environmental exposures as diverse as air pollution, widespread use of pesticides on foods, and television commercials, and urge the adoption of public policy aimed at controlling these and other exposures and protecting the health of citizens.

8. Ethical Choices

• We encourage public education and public participation in debates about ethical issues related to human health. These include abortion, right to die, surrogate parenthood, genetic engineering, and the export of unsafe health technologies (such as the Dalkon shield) to third world countries. [CS adds "victimless crime (mala prohibita) statutes..." to this sentence.] [DD asks that this section be expanded "to touch on profits from fee-for-service practices,

racism, classism, and conflicting individual and social values, e.g. fluoridation."]

9. Research Directions and Subjects

• We call for periodic (at least annual) national public referenda on matters related to the allocation of resources to medical research.

Such a decision making process assumes that the public has access to information on current research issues and directions. [PR- "I oppose public referenda on research priorities. The population at large is enamored of high tech medicine...and opposes research on the needs of 'special populations.' I would rather see a statement directing research to the most preventable sources of disease and disability...."] [DD finds this idea "way-out," and wonders if such a referendum, if held, should also cover "reimbursement options, benefit expansions, allocation of capital, etc."]

• We support the conduct of biomedical and health services research that intends to sustain life rather than threatens to destroy it. [JR wants us to identify research we perceive as life-threatening.] Some of the research avenues deserving of more attention include human biology, psychoneuroimmunology (the mind-body-health connection), epidemiology and toxicology (the patterns of disease incidence in communities and the effect on life of various potentially toxic substances), ecology (how humans relate to other life forms), and the links between learning and behavioral change. [S]- "We call for support of public health and epidemiologic studies on the role of pollution and life-threatening illnesses."] [NH adds "nutrition" to the list.]

• We encourage a shift in emphasis of the programs which train researchers from straight scientific reductionism to a more holistic and participatory approach to understanding phenomena.

• We suggest that priority be given to research that examines the therapeutic value and cost-effectiveness of complementary (non-allopathic) treatment modalities, and that determines how they can best be used in conjunction with or in place of conventional medical treatment.

• [SW- "Current research practice not only promotes profit-oriented, technocratic solutions to perceived problems, it also insensitively treats other animal life as trivial and dispensable. We support the drastic reduction of animal vivisection, and a program aimed at teaching biological researchers some simple evolutionary biology: that humankind does not stand at the pinnacle of nature."]

• [JL- "Research studies are longitudinal, and intended to include as much of the population universe as possible in the sample. Regular information flow allows all health professionals to do research and have access to aggregate computer information about relevant sub-populations with similar symptoms and histories."]

10. Appropriate Use of Technology

• While we acknowledge the "miracles" performed with modern medical technology, we are deeply concerned about its high cost, unnecessary use, limited accessibility, generation of hazardous (often radioactive) waste, and overall efficacy.

• In general, we prefer that scarce health care resources be invested in low-technology interventions that serve large numbers of people. [DD suggest the addition of "something on assessment of effectiveness and development of new approaches."] [JR- "In this country, there is no reason for resources to be scarce. The values /



system that underlies the scarcity needs to be identified, made explicit, and changed."]

• Likewise, we prefer to avoid the use of technology to save lives without regard to the quality of the life being saved. For example, we question the use of high-technology interventions to save the lives of the very old, infants born with serious disabilities, and trauma victims likely to require professional care for the rest of their lives.

• [DD- "At some points in our lives high-technology interventions are very helpful in gaining many more years of productive life."]

11. Attitudes Toward Birth, Aging, and Death

• As Greens, we recognize birth, aging and death as natural processes that we share with the other animals on the planet. We are opposed to the excessive medicalization of these processes. [SJ- "As Greens, we see death as a natural life process, not to be despised. We recognize that our bodies themselves are made from the earth. Thus we favor a return to a more natural process of dying and burial."]

• We call for the wider implementation of natural childbirth options, including the use of trained midwives and births at home. We encourage breastfeeding of infants.

• Likewise we call for the wider implementation of hospice and other community-based programs that specialize in care for the dying. [SJ- "We call for hospice care and its affordability for everyone who wishes to make use of it; we support people who wish to die at home."]

• We encourage the participation of family members and friends in the processes of birthing and dying, and support family leave policies that make such participation more feasible. [SJ- "We recognize the appropriateness of mourning and its often lengthy process."]

• We do not support the use of unusual measures to maintain life. We prefer the use of counseling on the acceptance of death. [SJ- "We acknowledge the legitimate reservations, both moral and practical, concerning some developments in medical technology-including the promotion of organ and tissue transplantation-for the purpose of postponing death."]

• We believe that the elderly and the terminally ill have a right to make their own decisions about their preferred time and place of dying.

• We prefer preventive measures and mutual aid over high-technology interventions as the means for enabling elderly people to remain healthy and active in their own communities for as long as possible.

• [more from SJ- "In an affirmative Green vision, we support medical and nursing care that celebrates life in all individuals however they define their participation in it; we support the simplest means of burial or cremation, including ecologically-sustainable burial technologies and artifacts (such as containers); we call for a review of burial practices for bodies that have been treated medically with toxic substances."]

12. Occupational Health and Safety

• We support the rights of workers in all occupations to safe worksites and protection from potentially damaging work activities.

• We encourage the presence of independent clinics at worksites to assure that these rights are being adequately addressed.

13. Exposure to Toxins and Environmental Pollution

• We are willing to work with labor unions and other worker

organizations in assuring that Right to Know laws are properly observed in workplaces where potentially hazardous substances or processes are used.

• We call for community education aimed at limiting or eliminating the use of household toxins, such as cleaners, solvents, drain openers, pesticides, etc.

• We urge appropriate governmental agencies and community groups to press businesses and industries suspected of causing pollution to curtail their practices. Such pressure may take the form of imposition of fines or other financial penalties, consumer boycotts, or plant closures. [JR- "How about encouraging economic incentives to change wasteful and dangerous industrial processes?"]

• We encourage health practitioners to maintain records on allergies and other potential reactions to toxic exposures among their patients. With necessary assurance of confidentiality, such information from a group of health practitioners in the same community can be used to delineate the extent of a pollution problem in preparation for resolving it. [DD- "The record should belong to the individual, not the practitioner."]

• We call for strict limitations in the use, if not outright banning, of those substances known to be harmful to humans and other life forms. Included in this list are the toxins DDT and PCBs, as well as the CFCs, which, while harmless during use, destroy the protective ozone layer when released into the atmosphere, leading to such health problems as skin cancer and cataracts.

14. Use of Pharmaceuticals

• We deplore the dependence on drugs that has become a hallmark of American culture. Inappropriate use of drugs can lead to harmful side effects, interactions, and/or addiction. Whenever possible, we encourage practitioners to limit the use of pharmaceuticals among their patients, and to avoid making unnecessary prescriptions. [PR points to the need for a statement supporting education aimed at reducing the use of non-prescription drugs.]

• We call for an expanded availability of unprocessed herbal medicines and the wide dissemination of information on their proper use. We prefer to leave decisions about use of herbal medicines in the hands of the individual. [CS asks that we mention marijuana in particular in this context. NH and JR disagree.]

• [Excerpted from NH and intended to be in a separate section called "Addictive Substances and Processes"- "We call for a re-evaluation of our attitude towards use of addictive substances, which would include a recognition that the line between use and addiction is different for every individual. Rewarding some addictive behaviors (workaholism) and punishing others (drug use) is not rational or helpful. We disapprove of the addictive behavior in our society, but coercion is not the answer to this problem. We call for individuals to have the freedom to make choices about their addictive behavior and their use of addictive substances. Given the kind of community which is the goal of the Green movement, we feel that individuals will make responsible choices and avoid most addictive behaviors and substances."]

15. Assuring the Rights of Special Groups

• [JR- "I object strongly to the notion of 'special groups,' especially inclusion of the mentally ill and AIDS sufferers. The problem is that these illnesses have been seen as special...for too long. They simply need to be treated the same as any other ill person..."]

• [JL proposes that "Handicapped people receive free prostheses,



...crutches, wheelchairs,...seeing-eye dogs...and other supports for independent living, as well as regular homemaker services and ongoing physical therapy.]

• The mentally ill, the differently-abled, persons with addictions, and persons with AIDS or ARC have all been subjected to discrimination and inappropriate treatment within the existing medical care system. We call for an elimination of prejudice against these people who have special needs, and an assurance that their rights as individuals will be honored.

• We encourage the use of self-help and mutual aid support groups as adjuncts to medical care for those whose needs are long term and severe.

• We oppose coercive treatment of these individuals unless they pose an imminent threat to themselves or others.

• Inpatient and outpatient care for severe or chronic mental illness, physical and developmental disabilities, addictions, and AIDS should be covered under the national health care program.

• Individuals described in this section should be involved in formulating and implementing their treatment plans to the greatest possible extent.

• [DO recommends a separate "plank" on psychiatric liberation, to include the following statements: "• The enormous horizon of possible holistic alternatives for emotional support based on empowerment must be explored. Resources must be given to creating and offering more options. These include user-run drop-in centers, retreats, self-help community networks, mutual support groups, skill training, crisis centers, peer counseling, and resident-controlled cooperative housing. We need to celebrate the growing rainbow of holistic, non-traditional approaches to mental, emotional, and spiritual support. • We must break the silence about psychiatric oppression, including the use of psychiatric drugging and the use of electroshock without accurate informed consent."]

16. Population Control and Family Planning

• We humans have a choice: deciding to limit our own numbers and thereby lessen our impact upon the biosphere or deciding to allow nature to take its course, with disastrous results likely.

• As Greens, we support the allocation of resources to research in contraceptive technologies, with the goal of finding methods of birth control that are safe, inexpensive, and easy to use. These contraceptive aids should be made widely available to all people, with appropriate guidance in their use. [SW, concerned about fostering further dependence on the medical industry- "We support the dissemination of information on the full range of currently available contraception options, including natural family planning options. We also support the easy availability of contraceptives to all sexually active females and males."]

• We encourage the expansion of educational and vocational opportunities to women, recognizing that women who have a strong sense of self-worth are more likely to limit family size voluntarily. [PR adds, "In some countries, people have many children as a form of old-age insurance. We support world-wide old-age insurance for its direct benefits to the elderly and its probable effect on reproduction."]

The above proposals present a broad outline of initial steps that might be taken in the direction of creating a more healthy human society. Much work needs to be done to bring these ideas to life and see them happen in the world. The references and resources

provided on the following pages provide ideas for further reading and names of people and organizations most likely to be interested in collaboration with Green groups.



*Donna C. Bird, 39 Donnell Road, Vernon, CT 06606, 203-872-8516
Steve Kubacki, 1220 Wellesley #A, SE Albuquerque, NM 87106, 505-266-0923

Freddie Windriver, 4 West St., Northampton, MA 01060, 413-585-



Internal Organizing

Introduction

Green organizing is rooted in our values, particularly grassroots democracy, honoring diversity, ecological wisdom, future focus, and post-patriarchal thinking. Greens are creating new ways of relating to each other, of making decisions and choosing what to support. The current system of domination, with top-down control and decision-making, has created a powerless, conformist, consumer-oriented society, a society that is dependent, a society whose individual members have absolved themselves from personal responsibility.

Greens have reclaimed the goal of political and personal power. We are responsible for the world in which we live. We encourage diversity and feel there can be multiple right ways of doing things. We believe that the way things get done is as important as what gets done. We are committed to using an equitable process in our meetings which empowers each individual member.

Policy Proposals

1. *Power and decision-making are rooted in and must remain with local Green groups. Regional and National Green organizational structures must be designed and implemented to foster the growth and development of grassroots based locals.*

Rationale: Structurally, the Greens' power remains with our more than 200 local organizing groups. These groups are also linked to other local groups in their region. There are 36 defined regions. Most regions are based on bioregional rather than state boundaries. Some groups choose to meet as a caucus by state (California is one example). Each region selects two delegates, one male and one female, to represent the region at the inter-regional (IC) meetings. Delegates get input from their constituent locals prior to IC meetings. If a decision is made that locals disagree with, the local organization must get support from a second local and then formally challenge the decision.

An inter-regional coordinator is located in Kansas City. The role of the coordinator is to act as a clearinghouse and to support the locals through development of training materials, sending out start-up kits (outline attached), and maintaining domestic and international contact lists.

We honor diversity and grassroots democracy with locals choosing how many to have in their group, what tasks to work on, and which



democratic decision-making method to use. The only criteria for membership in the GCoC is that a local adopt the 10 key values and pays dues. Assistance is provided by regional level representatives to new and floundering groups. Help is also offered at the national level in the form of start up kit and organizer's manual. The manual contains case histories of what has worked and what did not. It also gives examples of all the different levels of participation in Green activities which are available to new members.

2. *Informed decision-making must start at the local level so that inclusive and democratic decision-making empowers Green action.*

Rationale: We strive for a bottom-up decision-making process.

Through printed material and EcoNet, every member of the Green Movement has the opportunity and is encouraged to share in the development of its programs and policies.

Moreover, we strive to use consensus to make decisions at all levels. While this decision-making method is not new (having been used for decades by Quakers and other religious orders), it is relatively new to American groups working for change. Consensus works best when members know each other well, share equal formal and informal power, and have daily interaction. It works less well with diverse groups of people who do not see each other except to make decisions.

At the national level, Greens are currently experimenting with a modified consensus decision method of 80% rule. If consensus cannot be achieved, then issues can be put to a vote if the following criteria are met and 80% of the group wishes to do so. The criteria for voting are that a facilitator is present, an equal voice is assured to all, expression of disagreement is encouraged while seeking common ground, there is gender balance among those speaking to the issue, and there is an evaluation process for the meeting process. If an issue is put to a vote, then 80% approval is required for passage. There is disagreement in some locals on the utility of consensus decision-making. Some locals are experimenting with lower percentages and some do not use consensus at all, opting for simple majority rule.

3. *All Greens are leaders. Green organizing must recognize and develop each person's unique leadership qualities.*

Rationale: The Greens have been referred to as a leaderless group. We have all experienced the problem of delegating too much power to a "leader" and then watching the "leader" suffer egomania and burnout. We have often confused "leaders" with heros, charismatic personalities and other "stars." The real decision-makers are invisible in their communities, that is, banks, "advisors," "moguls," lobbyists, and other traditional powers. These decision-makers guide and/or manipulate the heros and charismatic personalities through and with their hidden agendas. This complex process drops the links of communication and accountability between the community and the decision-makers.

Greens use a decision-making process that empowers members as a peer group, creates balance between the more and less active members, draws in the less active members of the community, and focuses decision-making on the community as a whole. Leadership decisions can be reexamined and inclusion of the leaders as individual community members during decision-making maintains an inclusive accountability within the community. Those who speak for a Green group may not necessarily be the group's leaders.

Leadership takes many forms, many of which unfortunately are

never recognized. Examples of valuable leadership qualities include the expression of emotion, intuition, listening and mediation skills, artistry and humor. We need to recognize that leadership is not a quality that one has, it is something that one expresses or does not express from moment to moment.

Each potential Green facilitator should serve as an apprentice for six months to a year before assuming a more responsible role in order to learn the skills necessary to the role.

4. *Green organizing must remain based upon Green values. Coalitions with groups which share Green values should initially be established at the local level.*

Rationale: Most attempts at building mass organizations have been based on issues or ideologies, not shared experiences and values. The issue based organization falls apart when the issue is won because its reason for being has ceased. When the Vietnam War ended, for example, the Anti-War Movement fell apart. The Green Movement will endure only as an evolving community based upon a clear and evolving vision, not as an issue or task-oriented group. Those who consider themselves Green are amazingly diverse. While tied together by common values, they are not necessarily committed to the same issues. This diversity is a strength, not a weakness. GCoC locals have furthered the value of diversity by adopting local versions of the 10 key values appropriate to their membership.

Existing environmental, peace, and social justice groups are "putting out fires" all over the country, working for the future in issue oriented ways. They can be our allies as we develop answers to stopping the sources of "fires" in our society. We invite them to join as affiliated CoC groups. Affiliation with Greens benefits these groups by the added support which can be provided in letter-writing campaigns, testimony at hearings, appearances at rallies and networking with other locals. Rather than working in isolation on a limited range of issues, they can have an opportunity to shape a unified solution to our ecological and social problems. It is time for formal cooperation among organizations working on distinct but related issues and the reduction of organizational competition for supporters.

Eco-Home is an example of a special interest affiliate. Eco-Home has 400 members, only a few of whom are members of the GCoC. These few, working as a local, influence the broader Green network by their association with Eco-Home supporters.

In practice, our organizing and networking with other like-minded groups in coalitions must be based on each local's ability and resources. It is a patchwork. It is organic. It is not always orderly. At times, it appears chaotic, disorderly, out of control. Like nature, it evolves at a pace innately determined but unknown to its adherents. By its very nature, it challenges the current system in which predictability and control are valued.

5. *Green organizing must help empower individual members of grassroots local groups. Greens need to educate themselves to share resources and learn from one another.*

Rationale: Being committed to self-empowerment, we avoid the concept of "experts," which too often has involved the abdication of power to other people. Instead, we think of ourselves as resource sharers - growing and learning together.

There are several areas of resource sharing needs, the skills and experiential knowledge needed to live in a society of shared power.



Greens need to identify with these needs and educate themselves in these neglected aspects of our formal education. They include the following:

1. Listening skills.
2. Facilitation skills.
3. Meeting Leadership.
4. Consensus decision-making models for large, diverse groups.
5. Emotional literacy.
6. Non-violent civil disobedience.
7. Fundraising.
8. Green orientation.
9. Green living.
10. Grassroots community organizing.
11. Networking.
12. Door to door canvassing.
13. Public speaking and the self-confidence needed to be publicly active.

Regional and National Green structures should gather names, addresses, and phone numbers of individuals who are available to share these skills with the locals. A copy will be made available to each local to initiate action and meet their members' developmental needs.

Outline for "Start-up Kit" specifically to answer inquiries on how to be a local CoC.*

- 1 Cover Letter (What this kit is all about)
- 2 10 Key Values sheet
- 3 Exact criteria & procedure to become a local CoC, including application form
- 4 Exact administrative procedure required to operate as a local CoC*
- 5 Copy of current Inter-regional & Regional (if available) CoC Working Guidelines
- 6 National contacts list (group and group contact mailing address, phone number(s), & electronic addresses.
- 7 Current CoC Directory
- 8 Bibliography of Green Books
- 9 Bibliography of local & regional newsletters
- 10 Organizational tools list (description and price list/order form of videos, brochures, promotional & educational materials, updated regularly)
- 11 CoC Brochure (that would be more appropriate for a local to use, & has an updated inter-regional & national history section)
- 12 Examples and suggestions addendum to include: an introduction listing commonalities—actual case histories

* Also a second kit tailored to answer inquiries on how to be a regional CoC.



Land Use

Dear Colleagues:

Three letters with comments on the document prepared at the SPAKA conference in Eugene by the Land Use working group have been received by Paul Johnson. These comments address word choice and emphasis, rather than substantial objections.

The format of the document—philosophy, principles, strategy—should facilitate expansion of the document as new strategies for implementing green land use policy are developed. You will be pleased to know that at least one green group is using the document as a guide in influencing Reno, Nevada city planning (thank-you Helen Jones, Great Basin Greens, 702-323-1025).

The comments received are described briefly below:

1. An objection to the use of the term "Western" where a lifestyle of materialism and consumerism are linked to environmental degradation in the philosophy section, since this implies that only the Western lifestyle has ever damaged the environment (from Marjorie Storch, Charlotte Greens, 519 Meadowbrook Road, Charlotte, NC 28211, 702-364-2056).
- 2.a. An objection to the term "limited" private land ownership in Principle #1, due to the "communist" overtones.
- 2.b. Rejection of the goal (implied by the wording in our document) to eliminate land speculation, since it may not be possible to eliminate land speculation. (from Richard Degrandpre, Auburn Greens, Department of Psychology, Auburn University, 4082 Haley Center, Auburn University, AL 36849-5214).
3. A discomfort with the emphasis we placed on the rights of other life forms (from Joe DeauChamp, Chairman, Committee of Safety, The Center Party, PO Box 97, Venice, CA 90291).

The document prepared in Eugene is reprinted below. This will be the base document for the Boulder conference. Please encourage discussion of this statement of green land use within your local green group and your larger community. Send comments, ideas and recommendations for green land use to Paul Johnson. Feel free to phone me at work. See you in Boulder.

Land is fundamental. Land (the Earth) is the foundation of the World and Nature. Land cannot be created or destroyed, but land use can.

—Paul H. Johnson. 6/89

Green land use philosophy

All land use policies and practices must acknowledge (i) that we share the land with other forms of life, (ii) that their survival is as important as our own, and (iii) that the health and survival of all life forms is interdependent. Because of people's unique capability to transform the environment, people have the capability and responsibility to lay a gentle hand upon the land. Human beings in community must collectively decide how to use the land responsibly and gently and have an obligation to share the land equitably among themselves and other forms of life.

We recognize the Western lifestyle of materialism and consumerism puts pressure on a limited amount of land and a finite resource base. We also recognize that population growth, both natural and

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from migration, often causes additional pressures. Therefore, all land use policies, plans and practices should be based upon the following:

1. Sustainable development and production;
2. The reduce-reuse-recycle ethic;
3. The encouragement of a balance between optimum and diverse use of land, recognizing the natural character of the land (e.g., fertile soil, wetland, aquifer recharge area, critical habitat);
4. The inherent right of Nature to exist for its own sake;
5. The assurance of social justice in the formation and implementation of land use policy.

Principles of a Green land use policy

[Note: the order in which these principles are listed does not imply an order of importance.]

1. Encourage the social ownership and use of land, while also affirming a right to limited private land ownership when such ownership occurs within a framework of stewardship for future generations.

2. Retain the wealth in land created by the community for the support of the community (the socially generated unearned increment), while recognizing the legitimate right of individuals to retain the wealth in land created by their direct labor investment (the individually generated earned increment).

3. Discourage and eliminate speculation in land.

4. Develop land use policy that addresses and recognizes the diversity of human needs within individual locales, (i.e., the need for places for living, working, recreating, worshiping, shopping, and the enjoyment of natural areas and open spaces). Such policy needs to acknowledge the diversity of human needs for commodities such as housing, and to accommodate them within planned policy.

5. Design/redesign human habitats (cities, villages, and towns) so that they are on a human scale, with integrated land uses. Such integrated land uses should provide for example, ready access between home and work, a local supply of food, ready access to natural areas, and a deemphasis on individualized motorized transport. Human habitats should be connected to each other by a system of ecologically responsible mass transit.

6. Assure nondestructive public access to special public and private recreational and appropriate ecological sites and areas, for example coastal areas and selected wilderness areas.

7. Encourage and facilitate responsible and responsive local control of land use policy, with a guiding principle of think globally, act locally. Such local control should result in appropriately optimal and diverse land use relationships, where, for example, unique ecological and productive lands were not used for incompatible purpose.

8. Acknowledge the need for continuous multi-local (i.e., regional), and multi-regional coordination in the planning and implementation of land use policy.

9. Require that all planning and implementation of land use policy at all levels — local, regional and multi-regional — occur through democratic, participatory public processes.

Strategies to implement a Green land use policy

[Note: the order in which these strategies are listed does not imply an order of importance].

a) Consider the adoption of Land Value Taxation (addresses

principles 2,3).

b) Promote the adoption of an Anti-Land Speculation Tax (addresses principles 2,3).

c) Seek the adoption of Legislation Limiting Individual Accumulation and Concentration of Land (addresses principle 1).

d) Assist the formation of Land Trusts, community and regional (addresses principles 1,2,6).

e) Increase the amount Public Ownership of Land, with leases for appropriate uses (addresses principles 1,2,3,6).

f) Increase the amount of Public ownership of Selected Rights in land (addresses principles 1,3,4,6).

g) Promote the preparation of Comprehensive Land Use Plans (addresses principles 4,5,6,7,8,9).

h) Help to establish Comprehensive Land Information Systems, whose constant use can assist in an up-to-date land policy process (addresses principles 4,7,8).

i) Seek to establish a System for Intergovernmental Coordination and Mutual Advising, among local, regional, state and national governmental bodies (addresses principles 5,7,8,9).

j) Promote Citizen Involvement in the Regulatory Process, for example with zoning, transfer of development rights programs, subdivision regulations, building codes (addresses principles 7,8,9)



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Life Forms

Preamble

The adoption of a biocentric approach to relating to all life forms is a necessary and integral part of diverting the earth from the destructive course on which we have placed it. Adoption of such an approach entails the relinquishment of the anthropocentric world view long held by Western cultures. As Greens, we replace the belief that our species is the center of creation and that other life forms exist to service our needs and enjoyment with an ethic that embraces all life. Such an ethic upholds not only the value of biological diversity and the integrity and continuity of species, but also the value of individual animal lives and the interests of individual animals. The ethical mandate for consideration of the interests and rights of other animals is inherent in Green philosophy and in the Ten Key Values.

Following is a brief discussion of a few of many reasons why an animals rights ethic is intrinsic in the Ten Key Values.

Respect for Diversity: True respect for diversity must embrace the diversity and unique contributions of all of the earth's inhabitants. A Green ethic seeks to protect human beings from oppression stemming from intolerance in the form of racism,



sexism, discrimination based on sexual preference, religion, ethnic origin, handicap, or other differences. However, in recent years a growing awareness has emerged that oppression based on differences is not limited to the way we treat other human beings. The term "speciesism" has been coined to signify the phenomenon of human chauvinism and the belief that human beings derive from species differences the moral license to exploit and oppress other life forms. Human characteristics and abilities are arbitrarily chosen as standards against which other beings are measured, and moral standing is denied based on failure to compare favorably with human performance. An ethic which embraces respect for diversity must reject any paradigm which sanctions exploitation of those failing to conform to arbitrarily selected standards.

Nonviolence: A truly nonviolent ethic embraces a respect for *all* life. Any ethic which prescribes protection from harm on the basis of arbitrary criteria, such as race, social class, religion, or species membership, misses the essence of nonviolence, which is universal in its application. Many of those who have made great contributions to our understanding of nonviolence, including Ghandi, Thoreau, and Schweitzer, have stressed the importance of extending the nonviolent ethic to nonhuman beings.

Ecological Wisdom: Ecological wisdom teaches us to view ourselves as a part of nature rather than as on top of it or dominating it. Intrinsic to this view is the concept of the interconnectedness of all living beings. When we view ourselves as a part of the web of life, rather than as masters of the natural world, it is apparent that we should relate to other animals as kindred individuals, not as resources to be exploited. If other animals are viewed as kindred individuals rather than resources, it follows that they have an intrinsic right to live out their natural lives free of human domination and interference.

Personal and Social Responsibility: The Green movement can trace its history in part to twenty years of social movements for human rights and dignity, peace, and environmental protection. Consensus has long been established within the movement that social responsibility entails pursuing elimination of oppression based on differences, such as race, religion, and sexual preference. As discussed in *Respect for Diversity* (above), the thinking that has been used to exclude other animals from the scope of our moral concern has focused on human attributes, such as intelligence, ability to make moral choices, ability to use language, etc. As our understanding of other animals increases, we realize that our species does not have an exclusive claim on most of those attributes. However, upon close examination it appears that the question of whether nonhumans share our attributes is irrelevant to whether or not they we include them in the scope of our moral concern. The bulk of the human race has now advanced to the belief that human individuals who lack the abilities in question (intelligence, language, creative or technological ability, etc.) possess intrinsic worth nonetheless, and may not be exploited or abused. If the absence of those abilities in humans cannot exclude them from protection from exploitation or oppression, then there is no logical substance to the case for using their absence to justify exploitation of other animals. Likewise, personal responsibility entails behavior that promotes an individual's own health and well-being, as well as that of others. For the same reasons, the case

for excluding nonhuman animals from the definition of the "others" dissipates upon close examination.

Decentralization: The belief that power must not be concentrated in the hands of a privileged group is central to the Green vision. Concentration of political and economic power tend to result in exploitation, repression, and rule by coercive authority for people not sharing in the power privilege. Similarly, the unrestrained control and unmerciful rule which the human species is exercising over other life forms means oppression, exploitation, and suffering for its powerless nonhuman victims. By definition, a Green world cannot exist where justice and consideration of interests are exclusively extended to one privileged group, including a group comprised of a dominant, tyrannically ruling species. A truly Green world is one in which justice, respect, and consideration are extended to all of the earth's inhabitants. Voluntary relinquishment of tyrannical human power over other animals is essential to the realization of a Green and just society.

Global Responsibility: If we are to behave in a manner consistent with responsibility to the entire planet we must be responsible to the network of life that shares it, and to each of the individuals that collectively interlock to comprise that network. We are more than champions of the environment; a planetary vision directs us to consider the consequences of our actions on all levels. For the natural world this includes all levels from the planetary biosphere Gaia, to the bioregions that make it up, to the species of flora and fauna and natural elements that characterize bioregions, to the individual organisms who collectively form species. To act responsibly toward other animals, we must consider factors affecting their well-being and interests, and though those factors differ from species to species, we must ascribe equal weight to the interests of all affected, regardless of species.

Post-Patriarchal Values: The mass-scale oppression of other animals taking place in modern society is a product of patriarchal attitudes and patriarchal social and economic structures. Post-patriarchal values imply a rejection of traditional male-oriented ways of relating to nature and to other animals. That approach has been characterized by desensitization, domination, violence, mechanization, and hierarchical attitudes. By rejecting patriarchal paradigms and incorporating qualities valued by women, such as reverence for life, compassion, nurturing, and nonviolence, post-patriarchal values lead to a radically different approach to the way we treat other animals. The post-patriarchal model is nonviolent, non-exploitive and non-hierarchical, and it incorporates respect for the interests of all sentient beings, regardless of species.

Grassroots Democracy: Grassroots democracy is nothing more than a political platitude as long as the interest of other animals are not represented in the decision-making process. Our understanding of the biological and experiential processes of other animals has advanced to a stage at which we know that most animals experience emotions and nonintellectual sentient awareness in a way very similar to our own experience. Thus, we have reached a point where we must begin to expand the boundaries of the democratic process beyond exclusive consideration of our own interest, to a forum where the interests of all sentient beings are taken into account.



Community-Based Economics: The bulk of exploitation of other animals taking place in modern society is motivated by profit interests of giant multi-national corporations. Systems of locally-based decentralized economies have traditionally lent themselves to harmonious, non-exploitive ways of interacting with the earth and other animals. The Green quest seeks to develop alternative, human-scale economic structures that meet our material needs without exploiting human beings, nonhuman beings, or the earth.

Future Focus/Sustainability: A biocentric outlook is crucial to insuring the survival of human and other life on earth. Such an approach acknowledges that all life forms have intrinsic worth, regardless of any benefit they are capable of providing to human beings. As Greens creating an ecologically sane future, we adopt non-exploitive ways of sharing the earth with other life forms on personal, local, national and international levels.

A. Retainment of Origins (Gene Pool)

Animal Concerns:

Advances in biotechnology are posing a threat to the integrity of species, which may ultimately reduce all living beings to the level of patentable commodities. Genetic manipulation of species to produce transgenic animals should be prohibited.

Genetic Engineering

Genetic Engineering is one of the most dangerous technologies ever invented. Unintentional release of genetically engineered organisms is inevitable. Intentional release of dangerous organisms in wars and/or by terrorists is also inevitable. Genetic engineering cannot be justified by promises of reduced poison use; herbicide-resistant crops are being engineered. There is already talk of home genetic engineering kits being as readily available as chemistry sets. The kinds of organisms that can be created may be as devastating, if not more so, than the AIDS virus.

Genetic Engineering is one of the most immoral and anti-nature technologies ever invented. Creating organisms is "playing Gaia". The Nazi dream of a master race is now an engineering problem. We are about to replace evolution with genetic control. We are about to replace the entire interdependent but locally unique biosphere with central planning. Animals are being engineered whose sole purpose is to suffer from genetic disease.

This technology is still in its infancy so it is imperative to act now before we become "dependent" upon it. As Greens, we call for a worldwide ban on genetic engineering and for the immediate destruction of all related hardware, software and organisms.

Plant Concerns

In order to maintain the genetic integrity of bioregions, the importation of non-indigenous plants should be banned.

In order to protect the existing sustainability of indigenous flora, for example wetlands and old growth forests, we Greens foster an appreciation and respect for plant life in its undisturbed state.

In order to insure the diversity of the gene pool and prevent mass extinction, we encourage the replanting of indigenous plant life where it has dwindled or been lost.

In preference for healthy, hardy native plants, we discourage the production of high tech hybrid seeds with no evolutionary development, which have low resistance to disease and require heavy application of petroleum based chemicals.

B. Preservation of Continuum and Sustainability of Being (Ecosystems)

Animal Concerns

The use of herbicides, pesticides, and other toxic agricultural chemicals should be phased out. Predator control on public lands should be immediately outlawed, and steps should be taken to reintroduce native predators to areas from which they have been eradicated in order to restore the balance of nature.

Hunting, trapping, and fishing for sport should be prohibited. State and federal wildlife agencies should focus on preserving and re-establishing habitat for wild animals, instead of practicing game species management for maximum sustainable yield. Where possible, native species, including predators, should be reintroduced to areas from which they have been eradicated. Protection of native animals and plants in their natural surroundings must be given priority over economic development plans. Further drainage of wetlands and development of shore areas must be stopped immediately.

We call on the U.S. government to act aggressively to end the international trade in wildlife and goods produced from exotic and/or endangered fauna.

Plant Concerns

We Greens support the developing network of public access to seed banks, with an emphasis on traditional, indigenous seeds.

We Greens support the land trust movement, which can ensure that large, complete ecosystems (in perpetual wilderness states), provide a hospitable home in which the individual and collective flora can thrive.

Internationally, steps should be taken by the U.S. government to prevent further destruction of wilderness, such as rainforests.

We recommend the following:

Fund expansion of public germ-plasma banks and genetic preserves. Require companies holding private seed stock to make it available to the public germ-plasma banks and to return older, open-pollinating varieties to the market. Encourage and support third world farmers to continue growing the remaining cultivator stock.

We should also encourage a broader range of cultivated fruit, vegetable and grain varieties, similar to the diversity existing in the 1900s before seed companies came into existence.

C. Quality of Life (Individual Beings)

Animal Concerns

We are firmly committed to the eventual abolition by law of animal research, and call for an immediate prohibition of painful experiments and tests. The billions of dollars disbursed annually by the National Institutes of Health for animal experiments should be rechanneled into direct health care, preventive medicine, and biomedical research using non-animal tests and procedures. In



addition, the government should fund projects to develop and promote non-animal technologies where they do not yet exist so that animal experiments may be rapidly phased out. In the meantime, procedural mechanisms must be established to allow for greater public scrutiny of all research using animals.

The use of animals for cosmetics and household product testing, tobacco and alcohol testing, psychological testing, classroom demonstration and dissection, and in weapons development or other warfare programs must be outlawed immediately. We call for government labeling of products clearly stating whether they have been tested on animals.

We encourage vegetarianism for ethical, ecological, and health reasons. As conversion of plant protein to animal flesh for human consumption is an energetically inefficient means of food production, a vegetarian diet allows for a wiser use of the world's limited food resources. Livestock production is a major source of environmental degradation. Further, a shift in human diet from animal foods to plant foods would result in a lower incidence of heart disease and cancer, and better health generally. Vegetarian meals should be made available at all public institutions, including primary and secondary schools. Nutritional education programs currently administered by the Department of Agriculture should be handled by an agency charged with promoting public health rather than with promoting the interests of agribusiness.

Steps should be taken to begin phasing out intensive confinement systems of livestock production, also called factory farming, which causes severe physical and psychological suffering for the animals kept in overcrowded and unnatural conditions. As animal agriculture depletes and pollutes water and soil resources, and destroys forests and other ecosystems, we call for the eventual elimination of animal agriculture. In the meantime, the exportation of live farm animals for overseas slaughter should be banned, and domestic transportation and slaughter of animals must be regulated to ensure humane treatment. Livestock grazing on U.S. public lands should be immediately prohibited. Internationally, the United States should assist poorer countries in developing locally-based, self-reliant agricultural systems.

Responsibility for enforcement of animal welfare legislation must be transferred from the Department of Agriculture to an agency created for the purpose of protecting animals and the environment.

Commercial trapping and fur ranching should be eliminated. We call for an end to the use of furs, while recognizing Western society's responsibility to support alternative livelihood for native people who now rely on trapping because of the colonial European and North American fur industries.

We strongly discourage any further breeding of companion animals, including pedigreed or purebred dogs and cats. Spay and neuter clinics should be subsidized by state and municipal governments. Commerce in domestic and exotic animals for the pet trade should be abolished.

We call for an end to the use of animals in entertainment and sports such as horse and dog racing, dog and cock fighting, fox hunting, hare coursing, rodeos, circuses and other spectacles, and a critical reappraisal of the use of animals in quasi-educational institutions such as zoos and aquariums. These institutions, guided not by humane concerns but by market imperatives, often cruelly treat animals and act as agents of destruction for wild animals. In general

we believe that animals should be left in their appropriate environments in the wild, and not showcased for entertainment purposes. Any animals held captive must have their physiological, behavioral, and social needs satisfied.

Plant Concerns

Quality of life for plants is critical and the symbiotic conditions needed by plants to thrive and develop to their full potential should be respected.

("Issues" adapted from SPAKAs from East Bay Green Alliance, Green Animal Liberation Caucus, & Coyote Creek Greens.)

Strategies

A. As Greens we acknowledge the emotional distress that can be raised when we confront the pain and destruction humans inflict on other species.

B. We have formulated strategies addressing the issues raised herein. They will be developed further and presented at Boulder.

Addendum to Life Forms Statement

Coordinated by Lorna Salzman

Wildlife and Habitat Preservation

Although we humans are highly adaptable and evolutionarily generalized, many of Nature's creatures are inextricably tied to their own niche and their own community; if removed from their natural habitat they usually die, and those kept in the artificial environment of zoos remain alive but in a deprived unnatural condition.

Each species, particularly its component populations, contains within it the necessary genetic reserve that provides enormous potential diversity. This diversity can only be maintained with sufficiently large populations wherein the genetic reserves provide selected individuals with the ability to adapt to changing environmental conditions.

The preservation of ample and diverse populations within a species depends upon the preservation of sufficiently large areas for replenishment of individuals and genes. Protection of large contiguous areas of wildlife habitat provides a variety of biological niches that can support numerous species, while at the same time protecting and enhancing genetic diversity within populations and species.

The expansion and intensification of human activities has resulted in degradation and destruction on a global scale of wildlife habitat, bringing about severe impoverishment of species and reduction in biological diversity. In the developed world, those humans who speak out for the rights of non-human species or defend wild areas are outnumbered by the forces of mindless growth and development. Whole forests, swamps, prairies, bays, bogs are sacrificed without regard for their intrinsic value, their value to humans, or their innate right to exist and evolve.

Many leading scientists believe that the continued acceleration of species extinction through habitat destruction is the gravest ecological crisis facing the planet. As a result of such destruction, the normally rich and resilient web of life has started to unravel, taking individual creatures and whole systems down with it; the consequences for human life on earth are unpredictable in many cases, and by the time we find out, it may be too late to act.

As Greens, we stand as a voice and conscience to represent the right of Nature's wild creatures, communities and ecosystems to exist without impairment or impediment. To save our planet only



to serve human need is to negate our own evolutionary role as living creatures with a conscience. It is arguable that the highest morality lies in recognizing our ties to and dependence upon Nature. The clearest way of expressing this moral responsibility is to put preservation of species and habitat at the top of our political agenda.

We therefore *commit* ourselves to supporting and implementing policies that will preserve the maximum biological diversity by preserving all extant wild areas in their natural state, with provision for native subsistence cultures that depend upon hunting, gathering, and herding using traditional methods, sustainable agriculture, and alternative small-scale human communities living within their means according to time-tested ecological principles of sustainability, self-regulation, cooperative interdependence, appropriate scale and diversity.

Endangered Species

The protection and restoration of endangered species and/or their local populations, and the eradication of all threats to non-endangered species and their habitats, should be a main focus of Green action.

Although extinctions are part of evolution, they are accelerating faster than new species are appearing because of habitat destruction, chemical poisons, commercial trade, and sometimes over-hunting.

The main thrust of evolution has been towards increased biological diversity. Thus, the extinction of species by human activity may be the most serious ecological problem facing the planet today, threatening non-human animals and plants first, and eventually the human species.

For this reason, all policies and practices regarding human settlement, food, energy, natural resources, water (fresh and saline), coastal development and industrialization must be re-structured to prevent further incursions upon the ability of non-human ecosystems to evolve in a sustainable fashion.

Policy: We oppose trophy, vanity, sport, and recreational hunting, fishing and trapping.

There are compelling environmental, social and health reasons for modifying the ways we raise meat and fowl, and good health reasons for reducing meat consumption and increasing non-meat items in the human diet. We oppose factory farming, feedlots, inhumane treatment of food animals, and the use of hormones, antibiotics, or other chemicals such as genetically engineered compounds, such as BVT in cows. We do favor ethical hunting, fishing for personal consumption, small-scale homestead livestock raising in humane and environmentally sound ways for personal use, or for sale to others. Petrochemical-based agribusiness and livestock raising should be abolished in favor of use of natural organic wastes and compost.

Human utilization and consumption of individual plants and animals is neither unethical nor ecologically unsound. What matters is preservation of populations and species via habitat protection. We support ethical humane treatment of animals and ecologically sound utilization of plants for food or decoration, recognizing their species' existence or the biotic communities to which they belong. Accordingly, we emphasize a broad ecological and ecosystem approach as well as ethical treatment of individuals.

Of primary concern to us should be the reconstitution of our societies to minimize the loss of living resources and retain the knowledge of origins.

We recommend contemplation and identification of the negative roles of human behavior in evolution, and the termination of all behaviors which seem to detract from biological adaptation and ecological accommodation.

We recommend as an essential area for Green strategy and policy development and implementation the identification, protection and enhancement of sustainable systems in which humans can co-exist.

The single essential of Green behavior, towards which all our values direct us, is the preservation and the enhancement of life.

Other policies we believe are essential are:

- discontinuance of production of all radioactive and non-biologically reducible chemicals;

- return of all organic residues to the ecological system through reuse, recycling or soil production;

- the elimination of practices and products which are not essential to sustaining or enhancing the environment for life;

- the increase in the production of organic materials which offer energy efficient options to meet the essential needs of all individuals throughout their lifetimes;

- the support of practices which allow the population to decrease while increasing the sense of security, well-being and dignity of those living.

While we must respect all life on the planet, we realize that all life is interdependent and few species exist without the taking of other lives. We must therefore, in making life-affecting decisions, seek a balance in which the diversity of life is preserved without causing any undue suffering or death.

We object to actions taken under the current system that are inconsistent with respect for human feelings and spirituality; the removal of indigenous peoples from land held sacred to them; the passage of laws preventing homosexual couples from adopting children or marrying.

We oppose research involving animals when the results only benefit capitalist competition and researchers' egos. We support bans prohibiting household product testing, cosmetic testing and psychological experiments from being performed on animals.

We oppose the proposed Waste Isolation Pilot Project near Carlsbad, New Mexico as unsafe and a threat to human and non-human populations. Energy being invested into nuclear power plants and waste dumps should be re-directed to finding alternatives to nuclear energy and radioactive dumping.

We oppose the mining of the Grand Canyon or surrounding area for uranium on environmental grounds as well as because of the religious significance of the site for the Havasupai Tribe.

We propose a Green committee to serve as watchdog of cooperative activity. It would publish a list of companies doing unethical research affecting human rights, animal rights and the environment. It would also publish lists of companies doing exemplary work.

We support the control of human population to preserve the diversity of life on Earth and increase the quality of individual human life. We support increased education on birth control and wide availability of contraceptives to all who desire them. Abortion should remain a choice available to women without bias based on age or ability to pay. We oppose the gag order imposed on Planned Parenthood preventing them from counseling clients on abortion.

We oppose the incarceration of non-violent criminals and the



housing of them with violent offenders. We support prison reform and a more compassionate corrections system to benefit offenders and society as a whole.

Resolved:

that the SPAKA statements have as their intention the expansion of personal awareness and voluntary compliance;

that no law shall impede the natural evolution of the species;

that in dealing with toxic substances the burden of proof rests with the polluter and the benefit of doubt rests with the environment;

that we enforce the elimination of toxic substances or, if necessary, the cradle-to-grave handling of toxic substances;

that we not tolerate extermination or extirpation of any species and that we promote and protect the natural diversity of species and habitats;

that we insist upon enforcement of governmental laws that promote and protect clean air, water, soil, and sunlight;

that we will promote stewardship of the land, i.e., caring for the land in harmony with natural laws;

that we conserve and recycle all resources in order to sustain our closed system.



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Materials & Waste Management

Who We Were to Where We Are

Everybody pretty much agrees: We got all this stuff, and don't know what to do with it. Time was, folks would just load up the flatbed and haul it all out behind the old Bonner place; give the raccoons something to dig through. Then the engineers came up with the great idea of the "sanitary landfill", which seemed like such good sense all around that people thought we had really solved some problems.

But soon the kids had grown up, and had had kids that had grown up, and the land of plenty offered just about everything a young couple would want for their new home. When the old Bonner place was cut down and pushed around to make way for Bonner Estates, some of the old folks grumbled about what used to be, but people generally liked the idea of the broader tax base, and hurried to study variable-rate mortgage and tax-deferred income.

Then planned residential communities and industrial parks began to cover the landfills. Barges piled high with garbage put to sea for months looking for a place to dump it and oil tankers didn't look far enough. The garbage bill kept getting more expensive. News of radon gas and dioxin began to slip in the side doors of the American psyche. The consensus which quickly began to emerge among the mainstream conservative media presented, and presents, an alarmingly simple and fairly dire warning: No More Flatbeds.

Straight Talk

The waste issue is currently being framed in the mainstream as a

treatment and storage dilemma. This prevailing attitude among legislators and lobbyists interweaves nicely with the interests of the big engineering firms, manufacturers of big-ticket treatment and storage equipment and facilities, "watchdog" government agencies, handsomely worded tax appropriation bills and ultimately popular support. It can all be packaged very attractively. After all, a certain conscience (if not survival instinct) is awakening among the masses, and progressive-tasting environmental reform will be a sure seller.

What's not being talked about, in deference to finger-pointing headlines and legislatively-introduced repairs for emerging crises, is the foundation of these crises; namely, the wild wheel of consumption which pervades our society. To directly address this collective mania, as Greens with compassion for Earth and as individuals within our own lives is to begin to become the solution. The credo "more is better" is not yet genetic, and we as a working group exhort our friends and readers to challenge that within their own lives. It has been suggested by several respondents that among those of us already practicing Right Lifestyle, further steps, toward non-adversarial relationships (lack of which constitutes a major point-source of personal energy squandering), regenerative behaviors and economy of spirit be taken. For the purposes of this treatise, however, and for the casual or solution-oriented reader, the following list of strategies is presented.

What To Do

(Note: For ease in coordinating the ratification of specific strategies, each is enumerated. In correspondence to the coordinator or for debate in forum, please refer to each by number.)

We as Greens and as concerned humans endorse:

1. Curbside recycling of glass, plastic, newspaper, tin and aluminum in all municipalities of 25,000 or more by Sept., 1992. New programs to be supported by public service announcements (PSA) in local media as well as easily accessible information sources. Token tax credits for public places of business (restaurants, food stores, malls, etc.) with accessible recycling areas.

2. Investigation, legalization, development and promotion of graywater re-use systems in residential homes. Home wastewater system conversion legally and publicly available by 1993. Begin taking steps toward applicable conversions in municipal buildings. PSAs will present this new method of agricultural and landscape irrigation as the wave of the future.

3. Federally mandated implementation of an "Environmental Impact Charge" or tax at the source of manufacture of all virgin plastic, proceeds of which to fund recycling operations and public awareness programs. This same "charge" or tax would by the same token apply to other dangerous or recyclable materials and thereby invite a much more widespread sub-industry of recycling. Tax credits will be appropriately available for manufacturing applications which favor re-use.

4. Funding of environmentally sound public transportation through a gasoline surtax of no less than \$.15 per gallon in major metropolitan areas. Documentation of vehicle use for commercial purposes would earn a discount in this tax, the aim of which being the real reduction of casual drivership. The collection and distribution of these tax monies will be monitored by a non-partisan agency.

5. Critical and financial support of new urban and rural development which reduces the need for commuting; i.e., creation



of culturally self-reliant communities which reap the benefits of local economic activity. These collectives, already existing but for the most part rurally, will be profiled in PSA mini-programs in the electronic media as a fun and viable alternative to current options available in a suburban or urban setting. This strategy option calls for designation of a video production crew by the end of 1990.

6. The adaptation of a clearly, more strictly defined description of "junk mail" by the USPS, and subsequent rate raising for this mail. As well, box-holders and addressees will gain the ability to except themselves from receiving circulars and other advertisement-oriented mass mailings.

7. End nuclear weapons production and testing everywhere.

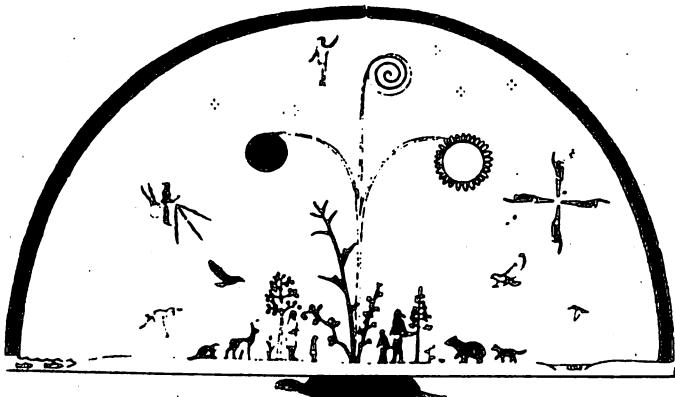
8. Actively pursue alternative energy sources, phasing out fossil fuel combustion and nuclear reactors in favor of smaller-scale, municipally- and individually- owned energy-producing technologies such as wind turbines and solar panels.

9. Implement a massive federal research project to develop an environmentally sound plan for existing and future nuclear waste. This will include the reclassification of significant portions of existing stored "low-level" waste to "high-level" as task forces report honestly on disposal sites found to be leaking. New storage systems to be above-ground and retrievable for low-level waste. Imposition of severe penalties for infringements of hazardous waste laws.

10. Widespread boycotts of redundant packaging and/or inappropriate packaging technology. Examples: cellophane over cardboard over plastic compact disc jacket, pump toothpaste containers, any packaging larger or heavier than the product it contains, etc. Boycotts will be supported by letter-writing campaigns to offending companies, newspaper editors, and friends.

This list, loosely inclusive but deliberately incomplete, is a thumbnail sketch of a starting place from which to address our fairly immediate waste issues. Although each is presented as a solution strategy, we must stress that there is no substitute for assuming personal responsibility for any of these areas. A friendly reminder or explanation to a stranger at the supermarket will ultimately be more cost-effective and fun than a month of federal mandates. This element of getting personal with one's existence will reach into every area of life; it is the prerequisite for change.

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Native & Indigenous Peoples

1. U.S. Greens recognize that Native American land and treaty rights (a) represent agreements between nations which have international legal standing and cannot be changed without the consent of both nations involved; (b) embody the wisdom of elders who negotiated the treaties and are, most often, a modern expression of ecological culture and tradition that we all wish to preserve; (c) are just human rights that Greens support and seek to maintain; and (d) are also a focal point of racial backlash and this backlash represents a real threat to the lives of Native Americans and must be stopped.

2. U.S. Greens recognize that the assault on Native American land and treaty rights is a national, well-funded and highly coordinated effort by New Right political interests, their corporate sponsors and Far Right allies to abrogate all Native American treaties with the U.S. and suspend all treaty rights and legitimate land claims. For this reason, we oppose all efforts by Congress or the President to abrogate treaties. Greens stand in full support of Native American land and treaty rights.

3. U.S. Greens recognize that Native American land and treaty rights often stand at the frontline against government and multi-national corporate attempts to plunder energy, mineral, timber, fish and game resources, and pollute water, air and land, in the service of greed and mindless economic expansion/consumption. For this reason also, Greens fully support the legal, political and grassroots efforts of Native Americans to protect their rights and livelihoods, their sacred spaces, their tribal sovereignty, and the precious, living resources of mother earth.

4. The primary expression of this outright assault to gain minerals and water rights is currently taking place in Big Mountain, Arizona. U.S. Greens strongly oppose efforts to relocate the Dine (Navajo) from the joint use area. We call for the repeal of PL93-531 and an end to the daily harassment of people and their property in the joint use area.

5. U.S. Greens also support efforts of Native American nations to establish and maintain community controlled, sustainable economic enterprises, and to move away from dependency on (and control by) government welfare agencies and private gambling operations.

6. U.S. Greens support the renewal of Native American traditional cultures and practices from which we can learn so much, ecologically and spiritually. This means we adopt a stance of respectful learning about Native American cultures, not taking or claiming their practices, but participating in them when invited and recovering our own European cultural traditions, rituals, and stories.

7. U.S. Greens are committed to building a truly multi-racial organization and movement with both the perspectives and leadership of people of color at all levels of Green organizing.





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Peace & Nonviolence

Green politics challenges direct and structural violence of all kinds: assaults against the integrity of the individual, the family, the bioregion, the society, and the biosphere.

We proceed from these basic assumptions:

- All life is interconnected; what we do to others, we do to ourselves.
- Means and ends are inseparable.
- Nonviolent means are always preferable to violent ones.

We in the first world have the most control over the means of violence, and therefore have special responsibility to work with the world community to overcome the conditions which promote

violence.

Militarism and patriarchy perpetuate violence, the first by the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons; the second by systematic violence against women, children, disenfranchised peoples, and all life.

Violence is more than harm or destruction of life, but includes the use of threat and fear which preclude people from access to land, food, meaningful work, healthful environment, health resources, justice, and education. Violence must also be defined as ethnic, religious, cultural, age, or gender relationships which are oppressive.

Furthermore:

We acknowledge that people will use the methods they know in confronting violence and undercutting the institutions of oppression and violence they face. Here Greens take active responsibility for creating nonviolent structures and alternatives and making them known, as well as urging use of existing means for negotiation.

U.S. Greens call for:

- The elimination of all nuclear weapons (space, land, and sea) and the end of production and research.
- The elimination of all biochemical weapons, and the end of production and research.
- The abolition of "low intensity" conflict, "discriminate

Peace & Nonviolence Strategy Outline

	Prevention of Conflict	Containment of Conflict	Defense against Aggression
Global	Trade Education Travel Communication Information Joint projects Aid	Mediation United Nations Arms control Verification Non-intervention Peacekeeping Diplomacy Emergency communication	Civilian-based defense Non-provocative defense National Service Conversion (economic) Treaties
Societal	Militarism Competition & cooperation Media Nonviolence training Education Tolerance & appreciation	Legal system reform Jail system reform FBI Gun control Mediation	Civilian-based defense Police nonviolence Crisis negotiation
Personal	Activism Education Nonviolence training Mediation/negotiation Stress management/reduction Travel Intercultural friendship Multilingualism Cooperative skills Nonviolent media entertainment & toys	Violence anonymous Mediation Counseling	Interpersonal nonviolence Aikido T'ai Chi Ch'uan



“deterrence” terrorism, capital punishment, and all forms of life threatening organized violence and oppression.

- The abolition of arms markets and sales, domestic and abroad.
- The elimination of nuclear power plants.
- The recognition of the right of conscientious objection to national service, and it's liberal interpretation.

Means to these ends include:

- Development and active support of existing structures and new structures for the nonviolent resolution of conflicts, global to personal, i.e. U.N. to community based dispute resolution services.
- Negotiations for arms control and disarmament at all levels.
- Research and development of energy based on solar, wind, water, and bio-mass resources.
- Research and development of creative, constructive, educational, artistic, entertaining and recreational resources and technology, and workers' retraining that will replace the existing industries of profit-through-violence.
- Work with current institutions (such as schools and media) to promote the ethics and skills of nonviolence, and to counter the teaching of enemy thinking, use of coercion, and problem-solving by authority figures and force.
- Development of parallel or counter institutions and relationships which include civilian based defense, and a world mediations service.
- Provide and support public education in collaborative problem-solving, conflict resolution, cooperative play, and skills for a partnership society.
- Nonviolent direct actions and civil disobedience that is creative, animating, and educational to demonstrate specific demands.
- Social organizations based on bio-regions instead of nations/states.
- Cultivation of an appreciation of peace as a joyful process of mindful attention to the subtleties of life.

Greens recognize that peace has global, societal, and personal aspects, and that each of these must be addressed from the point of view of preventing war and conflict, containing conflict when it occurs, and defending against aggression.

[A broad strategy outline is available from Carey Gray (6-1/2 Meadow Rd., Durham, NH 03824) for \$3 to cover duplicating and postage.]



Becky Williams, 19 E. Hillside Road, Greenbelt, MD 20770, 301-474-6265



Politics

We see the Greens as a long-term, evolving political movement dedicated to creating a just, prosperous and equitable society in

harmony with (and within the natural limits of) eco-systems. In the short-term, the Greens have a clear responsibility to defend humanity and fragile eco-systems from destruction.

Policy Proposals

Greens will work to obtain Democratic Decentralization of the Government by:

- having Communities obtain power and taxes from federal and state levels of government and allow grassroots control to administer funds for human, economic and environmental justice.
- amending the Constitution at the State and Federal levels to prevent them from pre-empting state or local enactment and enforcement of more stringent protection for the health, safety and well-being of life and environment.
- obtaining District Elections for State government, local municipalities and cities to further democratic decentralization and bring about neighborhood control.
- examining and acting on personal, social and electoral opportunities at all levels. This includes living one's values and being an example to others, using money in socially and ecologically responsible ways.
- encouraging alternative, grassroots institutions and communities that can actualize direct democracy.
- forming bioregional confederations to coordinate regional issues based on bioregional characteristics and boundaries instead of the traditional political ones.

Implementation Strategies

To achieve the above policies, the movement needs an electoral expression that complements, strengthens and is accountable to our grassroots direct action membership because:

- Greens work to democratically re-structure political institutions.
- Greens can shift the terms of elections, allowing agents of transformation into the system.
- Americans are traditionally politicized and educated around elections.

The Greens must take special care to reject certain types of electoral action if they have potential to stifle or undermine the movement. Election campaigns demand precious time and energy, with little time and energy guarantee of success. National elections in particular are extremely grueling and require a sophisticated grassroots network to compete with the big money operations of the established parties.

The party must grow out of, and be accountable to, the movement as a whole. Lone candidates or skeletal parties with no grassroots base risk marginalization, dilution of identity and co-optation.

The local (county or municipal) level is the most promising place for the development of meaningful, effective electoral activity for greens. Statewide parties are appropriate when they represent a coordinated, grassroots effort. The Green Party Organizing Committee has formed to consider a national political party for the green movement.

Effecting Policy Change

Many will perceive the Greens as primarily an environmental party - an entity seeking to reconcile our present economic system with



the environment. Clearly, one purpose of a Green Party can be to effect policy changes in existing state institutions and political structures. Greens are encouraged to build coalitions with environmental, neighborhood groups or other organizations with similar aims to win elections, lobby for policy changes and educate the public.

Independent Politics

With this in mind, the Greens must strictly maintain an independent political and electoral identity. The Party must be accountable to its membership and the Green movement, and therefore must not compromise its explicit principles nor facilitate its co-optation by other parties.

Green Leadership

Candidates, new and elected officials, campaign organizers, delegates and spokespeople take on heavy responsibilities. They deserve the respect and support of the movement, and their special talents and energies should be encouraged. By clearly defining standards of accountability, recognizing diverse forms of leadership, and identifying and resisting oppressive dynamics among activists (sexism, racism, etc.) the Greens can transcend the traditional "leader over follower" model.

The Greens must identify their own spokespersons for the press-otherwise the press will do it for them. The press will try to identify "stars" of the movement to satisfy perceived standards for leadership. This can arouse resentment among activists if they have failed to identify and train their own spokespersons, and often results in the vilification and subsequent demoralization of the "star". When running candidates, the Greens must be cautious of the divisive effect media attention can have on both the candidate and the campaign workers.

We endorse the concept of representative pairs of teams of activists - preferably with a male/female balance - rather than placing the work of representation on a single individual.

Democratic Decentralization of the Green Party

To maintain the integrity of the movement, Green Party activists must remain strictly accountable to the policies and principles of the membership. However, the right to public dissent by members should be considered important.

Communities working together and confederated across the continent can create a popular counterpower to existing political institutions. Community farms, worker controlled and consumer businesses, Green stores, alternative schools, cultural groups, fairs, credit unions, committees, etc. can be created for establishing communities with similar values and goals.

Ballot Access

To advance the effective use of the electoral arena for the Greens, the following actions are recommended:

1. Institute binding initiative referendum mechanisms on the state, county and community level.
2. Demand equal access to public campaign financing for all parties.
3. Try to reduce the number of signatures required for party ballot status.
4. Eliminate provisions prohibiting local (county or district) parties.

5. Obtain District Elections for local communities and cities.

6. Obtain Proportional Representation.

Through political campaigning at every level the Ten Key Values must be emphasized to demonstrate the Green Party basis for change.



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Social Justice

Policy recommendations

International Responsibility

Support for all struggles for self determination.

Support for and endorsement of UN Conventions.

Support for and recognition of authority of International Law and the World Court.

Creation of a process for the renegotiation of Treaty Rights and responsibilities with Native Americans.

Support for and endorsement of Regional Bodies as having primary responsibilities for assisting in problem solving.

Support for UN projects, especially health care.

Disbanding of CIA and all covert operations agencies within the US government.

Withdrawal of military personnel and weapons in all areas outside our borders.

Cancellation of all Third World Debt.

Cancellation of all military and economic aid to governments guilty of human rights violations including El Salvador, Guatemala, Israel.

Commitment to Fundamental Human Needs

Funding for the development of the arts and artists from community to national level.

Creation of Public Arts and Public Works programs for rebuilding of our cities and restoration of our countryside.

Development of child care centers.

Provision of National minimum Income.

Provision of National Health Care Systems, honoring all forms of healing arts and sciences.

Creation of local, regional and national councils to address the crisis in education and to develop ways and means of enabling young people to develop themselves through the redevelopment of their communities.

Funding of international travel, education and development for adults and youth.

Provision of free public education as a lifelong right for all citizens.

Requirement that all corporations give 1 year notice of intent to cease operations in any community.

Provision of low interest grants for all unemployed persons to initiate small business activities.



Racial Justice/Anti Racism

Immediate honoring of all existing treaties with Native Peoples.

Immediate ending of all efforts of land development on sacred lands.

Federal funding and support for the development of cooperative, neighborhood-based economics.

Development of arts and educational programs reflecting the cultural diversity of the country and the history of progressive struggles.

Funding for the creation of local cultural centers and historical museums to embrace diverse and unique traditions in every area.

Creation of a national language policy so that all citizens are fluent in at least two languages.

Legislation against the public voicing of slurs, epithets or harassing remarks based on race, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation.

Children

Provision for the full participation of children in decisions about their lives and well being.

Adoption of UN Convention of the Rights of the Child.

Housing

Immediate halt to all land acquisition by city or corporate interests for "development" at the expense of a neighborhood.

Funding and encouragement of democratically run institutions such as community economic development corporations, limited income cooperatives and neighborhood credit unions.

Encouraging development of diverse neighborhoods through subsidies, cooperative ventures.

Funding for the redevelopment of offices, businesses, production centers, homes and mass transit for accessibility to all citizens.

Funding and enabling legislation for urban and rural homesteading.

Gender Justice

Creation, funding and institution of enabling zoning legislation for diverse options for childcare and living situations.

Paid maternity/paternity leaves of one year or more.

Paid leave for the care of sick children or other family members.

Elimination of sexual harassment in the workplace and development of public processes to address complaints.

Recognition and punishment of marital rape by all states.

Funding for creation of ongoing community support systems to break the "cycle of violence" that surrounds so much of family life.

Support for the right of women to birth control, information about our bodies, to decide when and if she will bear children, to determine the degree of technological intervention she deems appropriate for her own care and protection.

Support for education for both males and females on

sexuality, child development and responsible parenting.

Revision of adoption polices to allow access to information by all parties.

Revision of adoption polices to guard against exploitation of children and adults based on historic inequities.

Women Directed/Women Exploitive Advertisements

End to all forms of advertising which objectify women or use women's bodies to manipulate consumers.

Population

Endorse UN, and all international and national agencies which advocate family planning and birth control.

Endorse ongoing dialogue about the implications of such polices to guard against racist, sexist, or economic bias.

Men

Support and encouragement for "Changing men's/men's movement activities.

Heterosexism

Affirm the contributions of gay, lesbians and bisexual people in building our movement.

Regard heterosexism as a violation of human rights and dignity.

Support and encourage the rights of gay, lesbian and bisexual people in housing, jobs, benefits, child custody and all areas of life.

Support education in schools on sexuality and sexual orientation.

Support the legal recognition of gay and lesbian relationships.

Repeal all laws which devalue and criminalize lesbian and gay relationships.

Support/ protect people living with HIV, ARC and AIDS. Increase funding for research and development for prevention and treatment of AIDS.

Increase educational efforts on AIDS and prevention.

Call to Action

Greens become involved with community based struggles on their own terms.

Greens should initiate processes for uprooting racism on the local level.

Preamble

We have inherited a world in which the future of life itself is in question. After almost 500 years of exploitation and oppression on this continent, we as Greens are offering an opportunity to restore a sense of harmony and sacredness to our land and peoples. We call upon the wisdom of the Ancient Ones; on the Native Americans who first walked here; and on the women and men who over the centuries worked for values rooted in respect for nature, diversity, cooperation and gentleness.

Our children are facing a culture which teaches them everything is to be sold, used, abused and disposed of. They are taught by this culture that progress means the destruction of sacred lands for mining, increased risks of cancer and birth defects for those living near toxic dumps and trash burners, and to accept growing up



without meaningful work or security. They are coming to believe that their future can be separated from the fate of the Earth.

To create a way of living worth passing on, we must transform the institutions and values of the dominant life-denying culture. The society Greens are creating sees an intimate connection between our rights as individuals and our responsibilities to our neighbors, our community and the earth. The balance between our rights and responsibilities grows out of processes which promote the maximum participation of everyone in the decisions that affect our well being, our economic security, our social and international policies and how we live our lives. Through our concrete work, our projects, programs, activities, events and actions, Greens are committed to establishing relationships that honor diversity, that support the self definition and self determination of people, that consciously confront the barriers of racism, sexism, heterosexism, class oppression, ageism, ablebodiedism and the many ways our culture separates us from working together to define and solve the common dangers we face.

Our vision of the future grows from an honest look at the past. As Greens we will no longer evade looking at the pain and destruction the dominant culture has created. Each of us, claiming our own power, our own legacy of struggle, our own responsibility, can choose to participate in restoring our dignity and shaping a new future.

International Responsibility

We advocate solidarity with and support for people struggling throughout the world to control their own lives and to bring about the necessary radical social and political changes that will enable us to move toward a future based on respect for life and the earth. We believe the greatest contribution we as Greens can make to the struggles of people throughout the world is to change the very institutions and values of our own country which depend on the continued exploitation and dehumanization of land and people, especially in Third and Fourth World countries. We endorse and support the efforts of people to define themselves and to determine their own way of living. Greens condemn the policies and actions of the United States government which repress these efforts. We specifically denounce the assault on Indigenous Peoples, their cultures and their lands. We oppose our governments continued support of both the Apartheid regime in South Africa and the repressive government in China, the infusing of U.S. money weapons and military personnel to governments guilty of human rights violations such as El Salvador, Guatemala, and Israel, and the covert interference to subvert rightfully elected governments as in Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, Chile, Angola and Nicaragua. We condemn US government decisions to disregard International Law and the jurisdiction of the World Court. We further condemn the efforts of the northern Industrialized nations to concentrate resources and privileges in their hands at the expense of our sisters and brothers in the nations of the South. We embrace the efforts by the UN, the World Court and the various regional bodies who are struggling to exercise independent judgment and principles outside the control of the US and multinational corporate interests. We further applaud and endorse all efforts towards people to people

diplomacy and the establishment of sister cities and projects which enable us to relate to one another with respect and dignity. As specific policy recommendations we call for:

The cancellation of all Third World Debt;

The cancellation of all military and economic aid to governments guilty of human rights violations including El Salvador, Guatemala, Israel,;

Ending of all military aid and occupation in other countries;

The ending of all covert actions;

National Security policies based on the understanding that our security rests in a safe, productive and vital citizenry;

adherence to International laws and World Court decisions; adoption of UN convention on the Rights of Children; economic support for UN health projects.

Commitment to Fundamental Human Needs

We are committed to the creation of economic, political and social systems which provide for all our citizens basic necessities of life. We understand that these necessities include: permanence (or subsistence), protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity and freedom. Adequate housing, food and income are essential for permanence; education for understanding; health care and information essential for protection. These needs are compatible with concepts of development which rest on respect for our human desires to engage fully and freely with one another and to live in harmony with the earth. (adapted from TOES)

Racial Justice/Anti Racism

The USA began with the invasion of the Western Hemisphere by Europeans. These colonialists brought with them a way of life forged by the dispossession of people in Europe from their land and traditions rooted in respect for the Earth. To amass wealth the ideology of racism was created justifying the genocide of Native Peoples, the enslavement of African Americans and the exploitation of Hispanics, Asians and other people of color around the globe. Throughout our history, race has been used politically, economically, socially and psychologically to justify and protect those with power and privilege.

Although all people of European descent have benefited from racism, they have not all benefited equally. Nor have they all participated equally in its perpetuation.

Throughout our history there have always been some women and men of European descent who have also done anti-racist work. Our culture obscures their legacy, just as it reduces racism to attitudes of prejudice and acts of discrimination. Greens define racism as prejudice plus power. Power means that prejudice is systematically enforced by the distribution and use of resources and institutions and those who have access to them.

In recognition of the central role of racism in the creation of our country's government, social and economic systems and the use of race as a means of dividing and destroying progressive movements for fundamental change, Greens are actively anti-racist. We oppose institutional, interpersonal and cultural racism. We acknowledge that the environmental movements of the 1970s and 1980s often were unable to see that the most intense environmental degradation destroys the lives and commu-



nities of people of color. And we also acknowledge that these communities organize in resistance to this destruction. We actively seek their leadership and wisdom.

We support efforts by African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and Asian communities to take political control over their lives by bringing decision making concerning politics, economics, and security to the community. We support community based economies that are responsive to the needs and desires of neighborhoods through such means as land trusts, credit unions, reinvestment and neighborhood development. We advocate the creation of housing for all people, the establishment of a national health care system, national child care and protection, open education which respects cultural integrity and language diversity.

We call for the honoring of all treaties between the U.S. Government and Native Americans and stand in solidarity with the peoples of Big Mountain, White Earth and all areas where efforts are going on to protect sacred lands.

As Greens we especially challenge people of European ancestry to accept their responsibility to confront racism, to discover their own heritage of resistance, and to actively learn about cultures other than their own.

As we do these things we will be in the position to participate in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic movement which draws upon our many cultural traditions to create a life-affirming society.

Children

Our fundamental obligation is to secure the future for our children and their children's children. Children have the right to enter a world which provides for their basic needs of permanence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, leisure, creation, identity and freedom. We advocate the full participation of children in determining how these needs can best be assured.

We advocate the adoption of the UN Convention the Rights of the Child as the basis for national policies protecting children from abuse and neglect, armed conflicts, imposed labor, lack of education, discrimination because of differing abilities, ill health, sexual exploitation, denial of nationality and restricted development.

Housing

MINDFUL that everyone has a basic right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being of themselves and their families including food, clothing, shelter and livable communities,

AFFIRMING the right of everyone to a decent and affordable place to live, a safe environment, and secure living conditions,

CONSCIOUS that housing policies in the U.S. are deficient environmentally and inadequate to meet the enormous needs of people and that such policies have created a severe and systemic housing crisis,

RECOGNIZING housing budgets across the world have dropped, on average, 75 percent in the last decade, while population growth, pollution, and military budgets mushroomed,

CONVINCED that the obscenity of homelessness, estimated at three million in the United States and many times that worldwide,

is the most dramatic result of the lack of affordable housing,

BELIEVING that decentralized control and empowering residents and local neighborhood groups as a matter of entitlement will significantly increase the quality of living conditions leading to tenure security, space utilization, energy efficiency, child care services and other residential amenities and protect tenants from eviction,

WE ADVOCATE immediate steps to alleviate the housing crisis including a variety of interconnected solutions:

- Increasing neighborhood stability through prevention of the loss of lower income housing by speculation or "development projects" which depend upon the displacement of the poor;
- Placing responsibility for housing in the hands of democratically run institutions such as community economic development corporations, limited income cooperatives and neighborhood credit unions;
- Encouraging the development of neighborhoods honoring economic, social, age, ability, and ethnic diversity.
- Making available government monies for cooperative ventures for modifying empty office and other buildings including commercial and residential foreclosures into affordable apartments for low income persons, especially those accessible to mass transit;
- Encouraging rural and urban homesteading;
- Preserving existing housing stock;

Gender Justice

SEXISM - the systematic domination and devaluation of women, their work, and the values they represent.

From the beginning, women in the United States have contributed in many ways to the family, economic, and cultural life of the community. At the same time they have lived under the cloud of social, economic, and political discrimination. Women lacked the vote, except in scattered states, until 1920. In 1982, the effort to guarantee "equal rights under the law" through a constitutional amendment was defeated after a ten year effort. Women continue to be viewed as different, special, or inferior in important social, economic, and political ways. There has been continuing discrimination in women's upbringing and education, and in their opportunities for meaningful work, for public office, or for other ways to achieve their dreams.

At the same time, the family has changed in ways not always recognized by legislators, employers, or the public at large. We have evolved from a nation where the nuclear family was the norm to one where single parenting, two income families, and same sex relationships have become increasingly common. These changes have tended to diminish further the social and economic power of women. Yet all too often those who employ women, or who make the rules under which we live, act in blatant disregard of these facts. Thus we, as Greens, issue a call for action.

Greens believe that a feminist perspective which is applied throughout the governing of our society is crucial to our survival. This does not simply mean "equal opportunities" or token participation; these are man-made concessions which keep women depen-



dent within a patriarchal structure. It means creating different social, political and economic relationships in the course of which every individual is empowered, so that they are not forced to accept work that is harmful to their well-being, society and the earth, in order to support themselves and their families. As Greens, we seek work that is life enhancing. Both in our internal organization and in our policies, we not only seek to end discrimination, but also to bring that feminist perspective through women into all areas. We want to liberate both men and women from sexual stereotyping, and to demonstrate that our future strength lies in emphasizing the feminine values that are present in all of us. (Note: this paragraph adapted from British platform.)

We support:

**Creation of a diversity of childcare options. Because of the high cost of quality childcare that is basically inaccessible to the poor and middle class, we believe that alternatives to the present system of paying for childcare are necessary. This can be handled through alternative living situations, i.e. group homes/communities, cooperative daycare (run by parents), and employer-sponsored daycare. Local planning and zoning ordinances as well as state and federal tax laws should encourage such arrangements.

**Paid maternity/paternity leave of one year or more;

**Options for part-time work and job sharing;

**Paid leave to care for sick children or other family members who are sick or infirm; leave, as well, to care for others who are sick or infirm, because of our Green preference for personal care over for government paternalism.

**Elimination of sexual harassment in the workplace; development of, and publicity about, procedures to handle complaints of harassment. We recognize the importance of institutional structures and due process; however we also believe that individual responsibility and social support from peers are also crucial for men and women to work harmoniously together.

Procedures for handling grievances on sexual harassment should be carefully monitored to guarantee that negative sanctions (such as loss of employment) are imposed on harassers. If such monitoring is not present, women in subordinate positions such as employees, students, etc. will be unwilling or afraid to bring complaints. We also recognize that lengthy litigation may be necessary in those cases not settled by mediation, and that financial and pro bono legal assistance may thus be essential.

**Recognition of the special burden of poverty that is borne by single mothers, elderly women, undocumented women workers, women of color, to be mediated by improvements in housing, health care, food policy, as well as employment and childcare policies noted above.

Poverty must be a major concern and focus for change. As background there must be an evaluation of the "need" for a "reserve labor force" within the structure of our present capitalist economy. If "healthy" capitalism requires that some prospective workers be so poor that they can be induced to move in and out of the workforce as needed, this is too high a price, for the poverty of some of us diminishes all of us.

Even more than effective and compassionate local or bioregional self-rule, we must have equitable empowerment of all citizens (without discrimination on income, gender, age, sexual preference, education and employment level, disability, IQ, and race and

ethnicity) to identify and speak for their own needs and concerns.

As Greens, we are appalled at the epidemic of violence against all people in our society, but we stress the unique position of women as victims of violence. This violence occurs on many levels—from rape, incest and abuse, to the manipulation of our minds and bodies to assure that we purchase the products of a consumerist society, to the denial of a woman's voice in decision-making. This denial of women's voices is present even in well-intentioned organizations and, indeed, occurs within the Green movement itself. Our major concerns include:

**Rape. Greens support women's efforts to develop and direct their own structures and networks to combat rape, battering, and abuse. We advocate the development of rape crisis centers within any community's reach; of rape counseling programs in women's centers, hospitals, police stations, family centers, and religious sanctuaries; of rape education programs in schools and of public awareness of "blame the victim" legal strategies. We advocate development and support of "take back the night" campaigns and marches. We demand recognition and punishment of the crime of marital rape in those states which do not recognize it (a majority in the U.S.)

**Abuse. A Green vision does not tolerate the degradation of persons in verbal, physical, or emotional abuse. We encourage: support systems for families and communities in stress; intergenerational programs for understanding and breaking the "vicious cycle" of abuse; "safe place" and "safe shelter" spaces for women and families in need of retreat; broad based preventative and awareness education. Finally, we encourage and support individual men and groups of men who work with "men against violence against women."

**Greens recognize that all women are not the same. We come from diverse backgrounds in terms of class, region of the country, ethnicity, culture, abilities, sexual orientation... However, we support and encourage the right of all women to freely be themselves to their fullest potential, and support all activities and programs addressing their diverse needs.

**Reproductive Freedom: In the contemporary world there is much controversy over one the processes related to bearing and caring of children, namely abortion. The need for abortion is a very serious matter. By definition abortion is a destructive act and as such comes into conflict with our commitment to nonviolence. At the same time, bringing an unwanted child into a hostile cultural environment also conflicts with that commitment.

As Greens we recognize the connectedness of life, and thus do not deny the potentiality of a child that is present in all pregnancies. At the same time, we recognize that in order for a potential child to grow and develop into a loving, secure and capable baby, the mother must feel that she can sustain and nurture that pregnancy and offspring. A woman's ability to welcome new life is dependent on her physical well-being as well as the social and environmental context that she is a part of. As Greens we seek to cultivate personal, social and environmental relations that will help women welcome the gift of life. Yet we also know that if an individual woman feels that she is not able to see a particular pregnancy through, coercion against abortion is not morally or politically appropriate. Greens are not interested in further increasing the power of an already intrusive and bureaucratic state. Thus, we see the *Roe v. Wade*



decision as a fair attempt to define both the limits of legal abortion and the limits of government interference in a woman's decision to terminate pregnancy.

Though this perspective leads us to support legalized abortion, thus seeming to suggest that our value perspective is in fact no different from the pro-choice position, in fact our perspective is considerably different from theirs. Whereas the pro-choice stance assumes that modern science enables women to control their fertility in a manner that has never been previously possible in human history, our Green values ask us to look at some of the costs of this supposed control. High-tech means of birth control, which seek to erase the traces of women's cycles, make women available to men on men's terms, at the same time that they often impair health and ability to conceive when they choose to have children. Thus from a Green perspective better access to more efficient birth control is not the solution to the abortion problem. Abortion, like sorrow, pain, and death cannot be banished. The need for abortion will, however, plummet if the culture which promotes and glorifies coercive sexual achievement and motherhood as a substitute for genuine self-esteem. Green values are central to these larger cultural transformations which can aid young women and men in gaining a spiritual grounding which will lead them to respect and value their own bodies and lives, and also those of others.

At least in the short run, we support the dissemination of information on the full range of contraception options including natural family planning methods. For this purpose we support birth control education efforts including school programs, advertising, media, and health care agencies; contraceptive availability to all sexually active females and males at no cost; family life education in the schools. In addition we recommend:

**Providing resources that support women in completing their pregnancies and consequent child-rearing responsibilities such as free and affordable prenatal and maternity care, financial and social support, day care, paid maternity and paternity leaves;

**reforming adoption practices to make it more acceptable to give a child up for adoption;

**addressing the circumstances that lead unwed teenage girls to choose to become pregnant;

**actively promoting the attitude that the responsibility for preventing pregnancy must not rest on the woman alone.

Adoption: Radical reform of adoption policies is necessary so that children are not bought and sold and qualified persons are not excluded on the basis of income level, class, sexual preference, marital status, and race.

Women Directed/Women Exploitive Advertising

As Greens, we find it reprehensible that the main drive of our culture is to make money and that the resulting promotion of needless consumer goods is directed largely at women. Such advertising fosters a societal role for women which is based on consumption, high fashion, and physical looks, and that leads to self-destructive behavior such as anorexia and bulimia. Sexist stereotypes are reinforced by most advertising, which depicts women as domestic and passive, as nags, or as sex objects. Mothers are subtly pressured to buy goods that pretend to improve their children's health and mental abilities, while children are subjected to similar pressures to demand ever more commodities. Finally, women's bodies are used to sell products in an insidious manipulation of

consumers which has the effect of reinforcing societal views of women as taunting, seductive, primarily sexual beings or objects.

**We demand an end to all forms of advertising which objectify women, using sex and women's bodies, or the role of mothering, to subtly manipulate consumers in order to make profits.

**We envision instead a society where demeaning or manipulative advertising will no longer be desirable or profitable for industry; where resources are used frugally and ecologically by individuals, families, and communities. We favor a redistributive economic system, with an emphasis on whole item recycling (such as barter networks and second hand stores) as well as other types of recycling. We urge adoption of tax and related policies that encourage rather than prevent the development of small scale, local industry, and that foster non-exploitive and participatory work relations.

Population:

Greens recognize that to bear or not bear a child is the right of an individual. We also recognize that this right has often been abused by population control advocates and agencies fearful of people of color, as a means of genocide. The decision to bear children is intimately connected to people's hopes and aspirations.

Therefore, while supporting the funding of United Nations and other national and international agencies to educate about contraception, we recognize that only after sexism, racism, and the question of economic well-being for all people is addressed will a true solution to the "population explosion" be found.

Men

Men suffer from the way our society is structured. They are culturally defined in terms of work and developed to extol violence, competition, and domination at the expense of their own feelings. We support and encourage all efforts by men to break free from these cultural constraints and to reclaim the fullness of their humanity.

The continual suppression of feelings and the common unhappiness of men are not only self-destructive, they also lead men to direct their destruction toward others. Bottled up feelings spill over into many forms of aggression, violence and the abuse of power. The planet is poised on the verge of oblivion as the result of macho posturing. We understand that this definition of masculinity is a cultural and political invention. It has denied men ways of relating which are peaceful, cooperative and life enhancing. We acknowledge that the key to the healing of men and the necessary transformation of our present life hating culture is one that rejects the myth of male supremacy and the ideology of masculinity. We reject the idea that men are inherently violent. We believe men, like women, are capable of a full range of human emotions and experiences which are essential to creating relationships of respect and a society based on peace and cooperation.

Heterosexism

We acknowledge the significant role that lesbian, gay, and bisexual people have played in the advancement of peace and social justice, human rights and the respect for human diversity. We support the struggle of lesbian, gay and bisexual people for liberation, and recognize that their voices are vital to building a new society. We reject heterosexism — the cultural belief, supported and enforced by political, social, and economic institutions which hold that the only legitimate form of sexual expression is that between men and women. We understand this view to be intrinsically tied to male



violence and to require the exercise of physical and psychological force to maintain it. We oppose heterosexism in all its forms.

Greens affirm the humanity, dignity, and worth of lesbian, gay and bisexual people, knowing that their love is natural and sacred. We affirm the right of young people to be brought up with full knowledge and discussion of their sexuality, affirming homosexual and/or heterosexual feelings as essential to enrich their own lives and the lives of those around them.

We support and advocate the right of lesbian, gays and bisexuals to achieve full social, political, and economic equality. We support civil rights in housing, jobs and child custody. We advocate the legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships and regard such unions as having the same worth, dignity and sanctity as heterosexual marriage. We are committed to struggles to end violence, harassment and discrimination. We are especially concerned with protecting, respecting and supporting people with HIV, ARC and AIDS and join efforts to bring about increased funding for research, education and access to new treatments. We support funding for increased social services for all people with AIDS and related conditions.



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Spirituality

We are struggling for meaning and purpose in societies that reduce the Earth and its diverse living community to markets, commodities, and objects to be bought and sold, managed and controlled.

Denial of innate yearnings to be a part of the web of life, rather than outside it, has left a vast emotional, psychological, and spiritual void in human beings — a profound alienation. This disconnection has led to a destructive lack of respect for the life-web of the planet, for other human beings and for deep parts of our own selves.

Consumerism and other addictions, religious escapism, rigid adherence to dogmatic beliefs, militarism, social oppression, pursuit of power for its own sake, cynicism and violence are all indicative of a social failure to meet our spiritual needs for a fundamental sense of connection and meaning.

Green spirituality seeks to restore balance through recognizing that our planet and all of life are unique aspects of an integrated whole, and through affirming the significant inherent value and contribution of each part of that whole.

Green spirituality is a way of being in the world that acknowledges and celebrates our connectedness to the Earth, to each other and to all life. It is an attitude of love, compassion and humility that embraces and respects diversity. It is an evolving, flexible, reciprocal process of healing, a process that brings us to our center, back into balance with ourselves and our community.

Green spirituality addresses all aspects of our being: the dreams,

ideas and strategies that come from our heads; the feelings in our hearts; the instincts of our bodies; the actions of our hands and feet; and the spirit that synergizes the whole. They are all equally important.

Green spirituality empowers us within the political process. It energizes us to resist actions and institutions that harm the life-web or desecrate the Earth; it affirms us in supporting those that are truth-seeking and life-affirming. Green spirituality reminds us to consider the seventh generation yet unborn in everything we do.



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Strategy

For a decade and a half, activists and theorists around the world have been interconnecting the ecology, peace, feminist, civil rights and other progressive movements, using the Green name. The Green guiding philosophy in the United States is summarized by the ten key values: ecological wisdom; grass roots democracy; personal and social responsibility; nonviolence; decentralization; community-based economics; post-patriarchal values; respect for diversity; global responsibility; and future focus/sustainability. Greens recognize and accept the need to transform our society from one based on the domination of people and the earth into a society where human and ecological values based on principles of mutuality and the ten key values guide our actions. This transformation can be achieved by embracing a strategy that celebrates the human spirit as it diminishes power hierarchies. To this end:

1. In the United States of America, we shall work toward the creation of a visible and effective Green presence in as many communities as possible. This is the corner stone of our strategy. We strongly affirm the grass roots focus of the Green movement and the building of a strong network of local and regional groups through the Green Committees of Correspondence (GCOC).

2. We support the work of an Inter-regional Clearinghouse established and overseen by a locally and regionally delegated Inter-regional Committee to assist the GCOC in the exchange and development of information, educational and news materials to:

- a. facilitate the organization of local Green groups;
- b. network between these groups on the regional and inter-regional levels;
- c. facilitate the organization of Regional Confederations; and
- d. explore the prospects for a Founding Congress of mandated delegates from local Green groups to determine the basic structure and program of a locally-controlled, inter-regionally coordinated Green political organization.

3. As a national movement, we shall work to share information and experiences of success and failures of local efforts in such areas



as alliance building, creating and supporting public assemblies, direct action, alternative institution building, and electoral and legislative activities. We encourage ties with Green activists internationally, and see networking as an important part of municipal, regional and national efforts.

4. We come from and make common cause with all of those involved in grass roots movements for the environment, peace, anti-nuclear causes, workers' rights, indigenous people's rights, civil rights, women's rights, gay rights, third world solidarity, and democracy. In support of addressing current and past inequities, respect for diversity, and affirmative action consistent with the principles of grass roots democracy, we encourage a coherent strategy for building organizational alliances with Native people, people of color, and the disenfranchised and oppressed based upon:

a. Self knowledge of our cultures, going back to our tribal roots;

b. Greater information about and appreciation of Native people, people of color, and the disenfranchised and oppressed and what goes on in these communities;

c. Networking and actively entering the cultures of Native people, people of color, and the disenfranchised and oppressed communities. We shall seek out their meetings and find basis for partnership. This might involve redrafting basic values, among other things;

d. Building coalition through common projects and personal friendships;

e. Working actively on third world environmental, peace, and justice struggles.

5. In all our activities Greens shall work toward the development of alliances with like-minded environmental, peace, justice, and grass roots groups in our communities and regions. The Green vision is one of reducing fragmentation across the progressive movements in the United States.

6. We support the creation of public assemblies in towns, neighborhoods, and communities as part of our strategy of grass roots empowerment. We shall work toward active involvement with public assemblies where they currently exist and shall work toward the creation of public assemblies where they do not yet exist.

7. Our local work shall reflect a strong focus on the connections between social and environmental issues and support for ecologically wise and socially responsible endeavors.

8. Elections are important, especially at the local level. We support creative combinations of electoral work with direct action as the hallmark of Green electoral experiments. Alliances are necessary to the success of electoral efforts and to the effectiveness of direct actions especially at the local and regional/state levels.

9. National electoral efforts shall be undertaken only after local and regional/state electoral successes are coupled with the development of a strong Green presence throughout country. While we do not believe it will be feasible to run either national candidates or a collegial slate for the presidency in 1992, we strongly encourage ways we can begin to build a Green political presence at all levels.

10. We encourage innovative thinking about ways in which the Greens can project an effective voice on national and global issues in opposition to the misrepresentations and myths promoted by the established power structure. As an alternative voice Greens

shall focus national and public attention on the need for a fundamental restructuring of power and a transformation of our society.

11. We acknowledge the continuing efforts by Greens throughout the country to differentiate and connect movement work and party work and we recognize that as both kinds of work evolve, and as Green organizations evolve, creative patterns of movement/party organizations at local, regional/state and national levels will need to be established.

The following issues were not strongly supported, but were felt by many to need further discussion:

1. Structuring the GCOC to strengthen grass roots democracy and accountability (e.g., at national meetings only accredited delegates should be involved in decision-making processes).

2. Beginning to think about the concept of a collegial (collective) presidential candidate for 1996.

3. Spreading the idea of a "rainbow from below" and beginning to describe ourselves as "rainbow Greens" (small "r"). One GCOC local asked that an alliance be established with the Rainbow Coalition to form a powerful vehicle for broad solidarity and goodwill. One GCOC local asked that formal ties with the Rainbow Coalition be rejected by the Greens since it is not believed to be a Green organization in either structure or function (non-hierarchical and striving for consensus), especially since the Rainbow Coalition operates within the Democratic Party.

4. Including issues of farm and lab animal rights in electoral campaigns. Some consensus needs to be arrived at on this issue.

Rationale and social/political analysis

Given that there are already thousands of existing activists groups in this country which are working on essentially every single issue with which the Greens are concerned, we recognize that the primary public role of the Greens in the United States is not specific-issue advocacy, but rather the following:

1. Networking - Helping various issue-oriented organizations as well as individual activists to share information, resources, perspectives, strategies, etc., and to assist organizations in working together on issues.

2. Context education - Helping people and organizations understand the "system" that we are living within - helping them to see the "holistic interconnected paradigm and vision" of Green politics.

3. Forming a Grass Roots Electoral Politics Organization - Uniting people and organizations which share our values into a strong political force which can lobby legislators, sponsor ballot initiatives, influence existing political parties, and where appropriate, form an independent political party.

We understand the enormous difficulties that face us in forming an alternative political party to the two existing major parties, but it seems clear that if the existing parties cannot adequately deal with the most urgent issues facing us, and cannot be influenced enough to transform themselves appropriately, then we have no alternative but to form our own political party and put forward the real solutions to our present crisis. In those localities, regions and states where it makes sense to form a "third" party, we should encourage ourselves to do so. In other areas, it may be sufficient for the time being to work within the existing political framework. Nationally, in about one to two years, as local and state Green parties form, as the existing



national government addresses or fails to address our problems, and as our own national structure develops, we should be able to decide whether the time is right to form a national party. In the meantime, we need to do much more work within the strategy statements supporting the three public role areas listed above if we are to have any chance of significantly affecting policy in this country.



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Technology

Throughout history, we have labored to increase our knowledge of the universe, our life origins, and ourselves. The pursuit of this knowledge, if carried out honestly and interpreted in perspective, does not present an essential conflict with our spiritual development. Basic research fulfills a need to understand who we are and where we came from.

Use of this knowledge can help us realize our ambition of sustainable living. Applied research and technological development can contribute to the positive evolution of our civilization, as long as the direction of this research is not biased, as it presently is, by the greed of powerful economic interests, and as long as respect for the sanctity of life and the natural systems is not compromised.

We are not in opposition to scientific pursuit, but we are alarmed at the arrogant attitude that has come with our past successes. An assumption of ubiquitous validity has become entrenched in many of the older fields of science. The history of advanced society is a litany of technological deployment before understanding, with disastrous consequences for the natural world and for our own civilization. We have come to think of our bodies and minds, natural systems and the Earth as nothing more than machines—to be taken apart, analyzed, and modified at will.

We advocate placing a higher priority, in funding and public attention, on the sciences which involve the connectedness of systems. These include the study of ecological systems, the interaction of social and political systems, the effects of technology on human development, and many other "crossover" studies. These fields of knowledge, many of them in a primitive state relative to the older "pure sciences," will allow us better to analyze our collective behavior as a society, and to make informed choices about how to create a just and stable civilization.

The gathering of this knowledge should be carried out with the sense of respect for the subject that we advocate in all our other interactions with the Earth and its inhabitants. And the power of this knowledge must not seduce us into the belief that we can reformulate the living systems of Earth, by genetic manipulation or other technology, to suit our selfish desires.

As new technologies are developed and even as they are anticipated, their consequences on all levels should be considered. Tech-

nology can no longer be thought of simply as machines, but must be recast as the ensemble of processes, institutions, artifacts, and so on.

Some of the political ramifications of technology are centralization, increased size of organizations, hierarchical authority, displacement of traditional activities, and reorienting people's ends to suit the structure of available means. Also, a society preoccupied with devices is unable to understand or develop sensitivity for nature. The pattern of life in harmony with nature is radically at odds with a life filled with devices.

These distinctive technological patterns of modern life profoundly inhibit the green vision of grassroots, decentralized, local politics with commitment to social justice and ecological sensitivity. However, some technologies enhance the goals of the Green movement and can accelerate the implementation of our vision. Therefore, we must have the ability and the desire to predict the consequences of new technologies, before they become economically and politically entrenched. We must also have the courage to re-assess those technologies already in place.

The once bright promise of automation freeing us from the tedious routines of industrialism to pursue more creative endeavors remains unfulfilled. Yet studies have shown that with today's technology, each person in the U.S. needs to work only a few hours per week to meet all our needs. Why the discrepancy? As Greens we recognize the cause of this distortion is mindless consumerism, and constant inflation due to monopolization of land and natural resources, increasing taxation, money manipulation, and maldistribution of wealth. We seek to remedy these inequities in order to encourage and allow for a society devoted to creativity and recreation, rather than the work ethic of Calvinism. Freed from constant economic pressure, each individual will be more likely to achieve self-actualization. We intend for technology to fulfill its purpose as a liberating agent for human kind.

In summary, our present technological development has far exceeded our capacity to deal with the consequences. It has also failed to free us from unnecessary toil. This has been due primarily to technology serving materialism and selfish interests. Only if technology is guided by spiritual principles such as the 10 Green values, can the hazards be prevented, and the benefits shared. In other words, if technology is used to enhance the quality of life, without damaging the Biosphere, then it is appropriate technology.



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Water & Air

Introduction

Both water and air are streaming elements of nature, and both have been seriously contaminated, dislocated, and disturbed by modern civilization operating primarily in pursuit of economic profits with little recognition of the complex web of life and living rhythmic processes in which air and water are embedded. Every body of water from river to sea has its own circulating system, and these systems are intricately bound up with the life of air and of plants (especially the carbon dioxide cycle). Together, earth, plant life, and atmosphere form a single great organism, in which the expansions and contractions of the air are like an atmospheric breathing and the water continually streams like blood. Indeed, as seen from outer space, earth could well be called the air and water planet. Green water and air policies arise from a respect for the natural cycles of air and water processes as the foundation of all life within the earth's biosphere and from a resolve to both purify and defend against further pollution these indispensable natural resources.

Water

Introduction

Until recent centuries water use and transportation involved great effort and labor, and it was valued far more highly—even approached with a kind of reverence or worship. In modern times water has been commodified and subjected to the human technology of hydroelectric power stations and dams, waste disposal, and industrial and nuclear power cooling and cleaning processes. Moreover, the natural flows, functions, circulation patterns, and locations of water have been changed by draining marshlands, over-pumping groundwater, deforestation, irrigation ditches and canals, inundation of natural ecosystems for water storage, and straightening and damming rivers. Water quality is severely deteriorating throughout much of the world due to pollution from industry, mining, power production, municipalities, and agriculture. In ecological terms, this way of relating to water is proving ever more uneconomical, impoverishing, and short-sighted.

Policies

1. The Greens oppose further interference with water courses, wetlands, and natural bodies of water (including the oceans), except to heal, rehabilitate, and conserve. We support the conservation, cleaning, and recycling of all fresh water.

2. The Greens oppose relationships of commodification, private ownership, and financial speculation toward fundamental components of natural ecosystems, such as water, which are necessary to support every form of life on earth.

3. The Greens oppose transfer of water between hydrographic basins on the principle that natural watersheds should be the healthy ecological basis of bioregional water use patterns. It is ecologically unsound and unsustainable to deplete water resources and thus interfere in the existing natural balance of another basin in order to artificially over-develop one's own basin region.

4. The Greens support development of national, regional, and local groundwater protection policies requiring elimination of all pollution of groundwater and long-term management of all aquifers.

5. The Greens aim to phase out and as soon as possible eliminate all public, private, and commercial practices which pollute or degrade existing water resources. We call for zero waste discharge into all natural sources of water.

6. The Greens believe that residential and commercial water pricing in both rural and urban areas ought to be determined and based on a fair cost for water usage which applies all expenses actually involved in water acquisition, transportation, storage, and quality maintenance and restoration.

Implementation Strategies

1. The Greens propose to phase out current projects which transfer water from one hydrographic basin to another, accompanied by conservation efforts to reduce water use or to re-use water and by efforts to use additional local water sources and storage methods in order to develop systems of long-term, ecologically sustainable water use.

2. Efforts should be made to preserve and restore land bordering on water bodies, including such steps as reforestation and seeding, banning use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers, filtering systems to trap potentially hazardous run-off, and preservation or recreation of natural habitats on beaches, lake rims, and river banks.

3. The Greens propose a moratorium on dam building, accompanied by greatly expanded efforts to develop alternative, less ecologically-damaging electrical generation technologies, such as solar, wind, and geothermal. We specifically oppose the North American Water and Power Alliance plans for extensive river damming.

4. The Greens propose to legally preserve all existing wetlands areas and, where appropriate, institute measures to restore certain previously existing wetlands. We would change existing classification standards of the Environmental Protection Agency to allow areas to be classified as potential wetlands that meet only two of the current three standards: typical wetland soil, typical wetland vegetation, and maintenance of surface water for at least seven days during the growing season.

5. The Greens propose a groundwater management program that would include regular and extensive quality testing of aquifers, regulation of groundwater pumping to avoid drafting aquifers faster than their recharge rate and to avoid leaching of salts and dissolved solids, banning of deep well injection of hazardous waste, wetlands conservation to assure adequate surface area for groundwater recharge, programs to clean up previous dumping and landfill with potential for groundwater contamination and to avoid future contaminating dumping, and development of bioregional strategies for cleaning toxified aquifers.

6. The Army Corps of Engineers, historically a major source of water ecology disruption, should be disbanded or perhaps reorganized as a democratically-controlled, civilian water conservation corps.

7. The Greens propose a complete ban on the dumping into ocean waters of solid waste, untreated or partially treated sewage effluent (including tanker waste), and toxic substances. Ship-based waste incineration at sea should be prohibited.

8. Ocean freighters transporting toxic substances (such as oil



tankers) must be more safely constructed, tightly regulated, and regularly monitored, with stringent penalties and thorough emergency clean-up standards for violations or spills.

9. The Greens support the Ocean Protection Act of 1990, but wish to extend the management and protection policies of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act to the entire offshore continental shelf. We also urge that further development in fragile coastal zones be restricted and that all shorelines be made accessible to the public.

10. The Greens urge that the current commodified system of water property rights (including riparian and groundwater ownership rights) be replaced with a system based on "right of use." This could function like a water trust, whereby democratic local or regional water agencies would confer right of use for a given amount or area of water on an individual, business, or municipality only for the life of that entity. Such rights of use would include most legal rights currently associated with ownership and would be granted based on ecological, health, community, and economic criteria applied to the proposed water use. To continue a particular right of use, a new party would need to reapply for a new user permit.

11. The Greens propose that existing minimum allowable levels of all substances potentially harmful to health in drinking water be decreased well below levels that would impair enzymatic or ecosystem functions in nature. Minimum standards and testing requirements should be set for a much wider range of chemical substances than are presently regulated. The same standards, as well as source labeling, should apply to bottled water. If drinking water needs to be purified, we prefer use of granulated activated carbon filtration and other, improved filtration systems and propose that these should everywhere replace chlorination (and fluoridation) as soon as possible.

12. The Greens propose as a goal to eliminate use of water as a medium for processing human waste by converting all flush toilets to dry, composting toilets. If in the meantime, due to economic, architectural, or physical reasons, water must still be used in treating or transporting human waste, we support use of ecologically-balanced, non-chemical wastewater treatment systems, such as open-air oxidation ponds combined with constructed wetlands series and rhythmical flowform aerators.

13. Zero discharge of toxic chemicals or heavy metals into water or into landfill and land dumping sites must be enforced by law with heavy penalties for violation, including the revocation of business license.

Landfills must be required to be lined and contained. All underground storage tanks containing toxics must be required to be of the double container type. To reduce salt content in wastewater, self-regenerating water softeners must contain built-in salt recovery systems.

14. Filtration ponds should be required for the treatment of rainfall run-off from new housing and commercial developments of significant size. Draining of streets in established urban areas must be managed to prevent run-off, often polluted with oils and asbestos, from entering sewage systems or water bodies.

15. Hydroelectric plants must be required to cool their discharge water so as not to adversely affect the ecological balance and life forms of the stream, river, or sea to which their water is returned.

16. The Greens support agricultural practices which use water efficiently and avoid polluting it, such as low run-off tillage methods,

drip irrigation, use of compost, and organic growing methods not applying chemical pesticides and fertilizers to the land and recycling organic wastes. Agricultural water and projects for providing and transporting agricultural water should be priced at their true value, beginning from a base of ordinary commercial consumer rates, and including costs of groundwater management and pollution control measures.

17. Combinations of legislation, financial incentives, and education should be developed and/or expanded to encourage conservation and re-use of water, low-use water systems, and reduced use patterns in all domestic and commercial buildings. This should include an equitable water-user rationing plan.

18. Present and future water supply projects should be funded on the user-pay principle rather than by taxpayer subsidy (including use of tax-collected funds or public assets as security for municipal bonds to fund water projects). Surcharges or increases attached to existing domestic water rates should not be used to fund new water supply development projects intended for new residential or commercial development. All water customers should pay the same basic rate, which should include costs for water pollution prevention and clean-up measures.

19. We propose that all water and sewage management be converted to public-owned and democratically-organized regional agencies—ideally in the form of consumer cooperatives. This promises more coordinated and efficient management of water resources, increased citizen participation in water use policies, and lower water use rates.

Rationale

Rationales for several Green water policies and implementation strategies are best considered in connection with those for other SPAKA statements, such as those dealing with agriculture, land use, and economics.

All forms of water, in the ground, on the land, and in the air are connected. There is only one hydrologic system. There is no new water. Dilution is not the solution to pollution. There is no such place as "away." There is no such thing as a "safe" or "acceptable" level of pollution. The more pollution there is, the more it harms the health of all living things on earth.

Wetlands are invaluable and irreplaceable sources of aquifer recharge, efficient natural purification of water, flood control, biological diversity, wildlife conservation, and aesthetic enjoyment. They are integral parts of natural, regional water ecologies and ought to be preserved and/or restored for all of these reasons.

Our oceans have too long been viewed as dumping areas with an unlimited capacity to absorb human waste. Due to the immense volume of the oceans, the effects of ocean water pollution will not be known until it is too late to reverse the damage. Ocean ecosystems are as yet very much a mystery, and the integrity of earth's biosystems depends as much on the health of the oceans as on the land systems which are better known to us.

Air

Introduction

At the end of the twentieth century humanity finds itself faced with massive and severe air pollution problems. The energy-intensive



activities of modern society are modifying the earth's atmosphere to such an extent that the climate of the future promises to be unrecognizably changed, and cancer and lung-related diseases are dramatically increasing.

Burning of fossil fuels, the most rapid rate of deforestation in history, and production of certain chemicals are releasing large quantities of heat-trapping gases into the atmosphere, blocking the release of the earth's infrared radiation into space and raising global temperatures ("greenhouse effect"). Airborne chlorofluorocarbon gases (CFCs), responsible for 15-20% of global warming, have also been linked to the destruction of the protective ozone layer in the earth's outer atmosphere, and thus to increased skin cancer, reduced crop yields, and disruption of marine life ecology. Other serious air pollutants include acid-rain causing sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide, ground-level ozone ("smog"), lead, particulates, carbon monoxide, and more than seventy airborne, cancer-causing toxic chemicals produced by the chemical industry.

The improvement of this situation—or simply the maintenance of a status quo level of air pollution, global warming, and deteriorating ozone layer—will require massive effort and changes of lifestyle if clean air itself is not to soon become a rare and expensive "commodity." These efforts and changes are closely linked to Green policies in other areas, such as energy, water, technology, transportation, agriculture, forests, land use, health, economics, and materials and waste management.

Policies

1. Clean healthful air is a biological right and necessity for all life on earth, and must be preserved for the well-being of all. We oppose any attempts to commodify air or to degrade its quality for the economic gain of a few.

2. The Greens support drastically reducing or eliminating emissions of all air polluting substances.

3. The Greens advocate reducing as much as possible the amount of internal-combustion engine vehicular traffic, especially in cities.

4. The Greens advocate halting the destruction of existing forests and rain forests, accompanied by extensive tree planting.

Implementation Strategies

1. The Greens support stringently tightening national air pollutant health and emission standards, expanding the number of substances monitored and regulated, increasing testing, and establishing stiffer penalties and better-funded remedial programs for violators. We must also seek international agreements to reduce air pollution from all sources.

2. The Greens support phased legislation to require all businesses or other entities who emit any of the seventy-some known cancer-causing industrial chemicals to install the best available anti-smog equipment regardless of cost, and to eventually replace those industrial processes with ones not using volatile toxic substances.

3. Emission standards should be tightened and enforced for commercial sources of hydrocarbon pollution (sources of ozone creation in the lower atmosphere), such as dry cleaners, printing shops, and bakeries.

4. The Greens propose to ban all future construction of fossil fuel burning electric generation plants, especially coal-fired plants. Through financial incentives, dramatically increased research funding, and elimination of fossil fuel industry subsidies, we should

encourage the large-scale development of renewable, more efficient energy generation technologies, such as solar, wind, bio-mass produced methane, and geothermal.

5. All existing fossil fuel burning power plants should be required to install state-of-the-art smog emission control equipment regardless of cost. As a temporary measure until such plants can be eliminated, all coal-fired generating plants and non-ferrous metal smelting plants must be required to install scrubbers, which can reduce by as much as half the acid rain caused by their sulfur dioxide emissions. Electricity produced from fossil fuel plants must be priced so as to include costs of ecological damage, pollution and its control, and the recycling or disposal of the generation process residues.

6. The Greens propose to set up recycling centers for CFCs across the nation and to require recycling of CFCs from discarded or serviced refrigerators and air conditioners. Fire extinguishers using CFCs, halon gases, and other ozone-destroying compounds must be replaced with dry-chemical or sodium bicarbonate extinguishers. Production of styrofoam and related CFC-generating plastic foams must be banned, and their use prohibited for fast-food restaurants, product packaging, and rigid foam building insulation.

7. To save rain forests, the Greens would ban importation of rain forest beef and leather, severely restrict importation of tropical woods, reduce or remove import tariffs for tropical rain forest products that do not destroy trees (e.g. rubber, Brazil nuts, tropical fruits), and take corresponding steps to relieve the burden of huge foreign debt in third world rain forest nations.

8. Ultimately, the Greens support a reduction of combustion engine traffic through a reorganization of living patterns into a locally based, bioregionally conceived, and human-scaled society. This would involve integrated land use patterns that would reduce our need to travel by addressing our employment and other necessities closer to home. In such a society most transportation needs could be met by renewable-fueled private and public transportation means, as well as foot, bicycle, skate, and skateboarding power. Until this is achieved, we support a variety of other steps.

9. The Greens support employer-based, phased, mandatory programs to reduce employee contributions to carbon dioxide emissions through combinations of ride-sharing, use of alternative fuels, walking, and conversion to public transit, bicycles, or electric vehicles.

10. The Greens recommend designation or construction of bicycle lanes (or separate bicycle pathways) on or parallel to every second or third street in cities and the installation of bicycle racks at business, recreational, shopping, and other public destinations.

11. The Greens recommend establishing hourly or day-long inexpensive (or even free) rental centers for non-polluting individual transportation vehicles (e.g., bicycles and electric vehicles) at key locations in cities to provide convenient and affordable alternative transportation.

12. To reduce traffic in cities, preferred parking spaces can be given to vans and buses to encourage car pooling, whereas downtown parking fees can be increased combined with no-fare shuttle bus service in downtown areas. Drive-through restaurants and banks should be prohibited.

13. To make automobile use reflect its real cost and to encourage the emergence of public transit and alternative transportation, the Greens support a graduated but significantly large gasoline tax over



several years, with the funds collected being earmarked for development of public transportation. This could also be accompanied by public transit discounts to low income citizens. We recommend higher taxes still on diesel fuel.

14. To rectify the inefficiency of our current automobile fleet, the Greens support legislation to raise CAFE standards (average mpg requirements) to 60 mpg for cars and 45 mpg for light trucks by 2010 at the latest. CAFE standards and other emission regulations (including minimum idle time) must be set for heavy trucks and buses, which currently have little regulation. Once a high level of mpg performance is set, we favor substantial, differential purchase taxes on automobiles with low mpg and high emission rates, as well as rebates for higher mpg vehicles, electric cars, and bicycles.

15. The Greens support the development of non-fossil-fuel and non-combustion methods of transportation technology.

16. As a temporary alternative to petroleum fuels, the Greens favor a shift to renewable fuels that are decentrally produced, controlled, and distributed. These would include wood-based methanol, corn or sugarcane-based ethanol, hydrogen, and conventionally generated electricity. Though some large-scale monoculture might be needed for a time to provide the plant material for ethanol and methanol (evidence suggests that fast-growing, drought-resistant hemp would be the most productive), we could largely fuel our transportation needs upon farm and forestry wastes we already have and send to landfills, waterways, or incinerate into the air, creating further air pollution.

17. As long as gasoline continues to be used as vehicular fuel, the Greens would require use of "vapor muffs" (devices that capture toxic hydrocarbon gasoline vapors) on gasoline pump nozzles and warning signs on gasoline pumps cautioning customers not to "top off" their tanks.

18. The Greens recommend elimination of subsidies for airlines, thereby making inter-city rail transportation more competitive. Magnetic levitation rail systems deserve additional study as a possibly less pollutive form of long-distance public transportation.

19. To reduce emissions from wood-burning and fossil fuel-burning home heating, the Greens support amending building codes where climatically appropriate to require passive solar heating elements on some portion of new residential and commercial construction, additional insulation and weatherproofing, and double-pane window glass. Property tax incentives can encourage retrofitting existing homes with the same measures. Emission control standards for wood-burning stoves should be tightened to require the best available controls.

20. The Greens encourage a variety of local and regional tree-planting programs, as well as education of residents and business on tree placement as a means of reducing energy use.

21. Where air particulate pollution is a problem, the Greens recommend low-till agricultural methods, banning unpaved parking lots, using hard sand instead of salt on snowy winter streets, requiring construction truckloads of dirt and sand to be covered, and banning leaf blowers.

22. The Greens would ban future mass burn (incineration) facilities for solid waste disposal, since they waste potentially

recyclable resources and contribute to air pollution. Existing incinerators should be required to install state-of-the-art pollution emission controls and should be phased out.

23. The Greens strongly oppose the idea of air pollution or emission "rights" for industry, which we see as an unjustifiable commodification of a public natural resource (air) and a recognition of a fallacious "right to pollute."

Rationale

The level of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has risen about 25% since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, and humanly produced carbon dioxide, over half from fossil fuel burning electrical generation and transportation vehicles, have increased 5,300% over the same period. With only 5% of the world's population the United States contributes 26% of the world's carbon dioxide and 27% of the world's CFCs.

This pollution affects every organism on earth in ways we do not yet understand with consequences we cannot now fully predict. But this lack of present ability to clearly state which pollutants at which levels will prove to be damaging or fatal to human health and natural ecologies should not prevent us from acting now to stop toxic disturbances that were never included in the wisdom of nature and its recycling systems. It is far better to be overly restrictive and safe now than to be irreparably sorry later.

Up until now, the total cost of our automobile infrastructure has not been paid by the automobile user through taxes at the pump. Rather, it has been paid by all of us through general funds. Real costs of our system include tax subsidies for road maintenance, police service, and traffic court bureaucracy; street lighting, signs, and signals; tax subsidies to sprawl-induced suburban water, power, and social services; tax subsidies in banking practices that provide investment opportunities to sprawl developers while withholding funds from ecological, non-auto oriented redevelopment in existing centers; and inflating costs of health care and health insurance systems due to illnesses caused by air pollution.

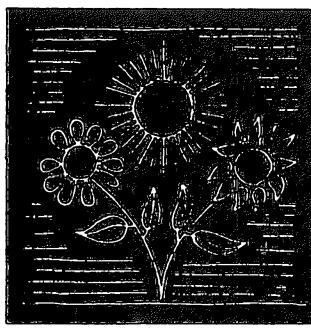
The Greens' proposed gas tax is graduated so that increased alternative and public transportation options can be developed for lower-income citizens who are obliged to drive their cars to work. Raising CAFE standards would save over 22 billion barrels of oil by

2020, helping eliminate our dependence on foreign oil, as well as helping balance our budget and reducing air pollution. Since there is a direct environmental and societal cost to transportation inefficiency, those who waste need to pay more of its cost through the "gas guzzler" purchase taxes we propose.

Already, solar battery-powered vehicles have 30-35 mph capacity for up to 60 miles per day, useful for short trips. Solar and wind generated electric urban light rail need not be far behind.

Eventually, human scale land use strategies could make these forms sufficient for most needs.

Among alternative fuels, natural gas generated methanol, as a centralized, carbon dioxide emitting fossil fuel, is at best a very short-term transition fuel until renewable sources are developed. Thus, we do not recommend it. Hemp's per-acre output of methanol is about ten times that of corn, and it can be grown in most parts



of the country on marginal land not suited to corn's rich soil requirements. Thus, it is valuable as a more efficient and also decentralized source of methanol.

The trucking industry does not help pay for the interstate highway system. The airlines do not have to build terminals but only pay rent. But the rail industry must pay taxes on property and "rolling stock." Our recommended measures are intended to reflect true costs and even out the competition.

Twenty-seven million acres of forest are destroyed each year, primarily tropical rain forests but also our remaining temperate zone old-growth forests. This is not only of grave concern because half of all plant and animal species live in rain forests (with one or two species becoming extinct each day), but because burning of tropical forests is responsible for over one tenth of the "greenhouse effect"—both directly and through loss of atmospheric-carbon-absorbing trees. It has been calculated that planting 100 million trees by 1991 could save electrical rate payments 3-4 billion dollars per year, while offsetting 18 million tons of carbon emissions which the trees would absorb.



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Intimacy & Partnership Diversity

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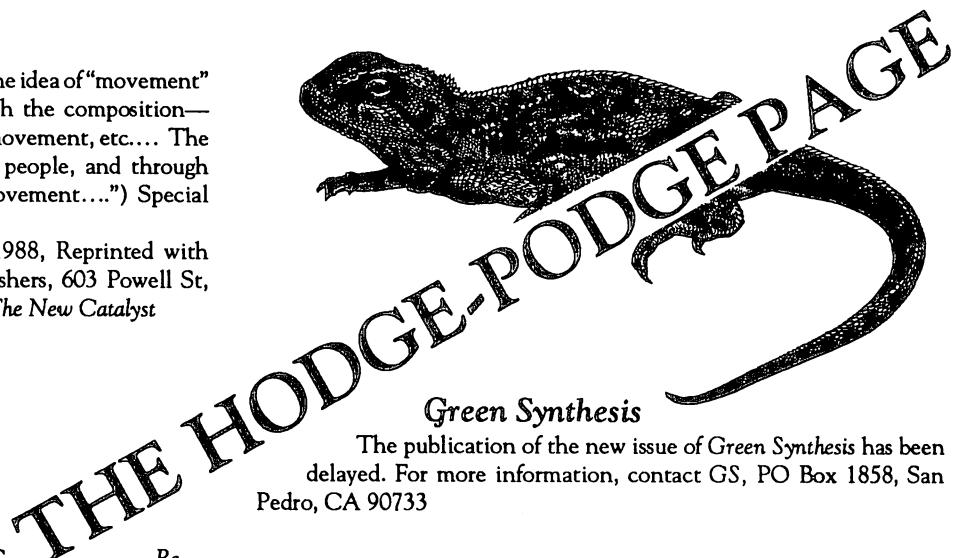
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Green Synthesis

The publication of the new issue of *Green Synthesis* has been delayed. For more information, contact GS, PO Box 1858, San Pedro, CA 90733

"Tell me more about the Greens!"

If you would like more information about the Green movement, and Green activity in your area, please contact the Green Committees of Correspondence Clearinghouse:

GCoC Clearinghouse
P.O. Box 30208
Kansas City, MO 64112

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Pulling together each issue of *Green Letter* is highly labor-intensive. As the Green Movement grows, producing the paper requires ever greater time and resources. Just sifting through our mail and keeping up with Green news is a major task. We are a volunteer effort, and all income is devoted to much-needed equipment, supplies, and expenses such as mail, phone, printing, etc. The six GL Collective members put in about 1000 hours per issue, over 80 hours per week, not counting the help we get from others. To meet the demands of GL, collective members need to be able to free up time we spend making a living. We can no longer depend solely on volunteer labor. We also need to raise funds to purchase our own laserprinter. To make a long story short—we absolutely need your financial support to sustain *Green Letter*.



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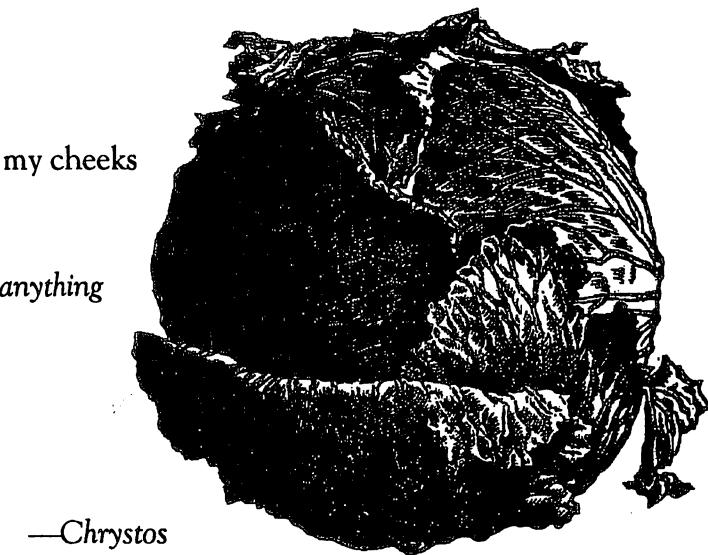
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Poem for lettuce

I know
you don't want to be eaten
anymore than a cow or a pig or a chicken does
but they're the vicious vegetarians
& they say you do
Gobbling up the innocent green beings who gladden
any reasonable person's heart
I'll tell you little lettuce
you'll see them in cowskin shoes & belts
& nobody can make sense of that
Those virtuous vegetarians they'll look at you with prim distaste
while you enjoy your bacon
Makes me want
to buy some cowboy movie blood capsules
Imagine an introduction
I'd like you to meet Lily, she's a non-smoking non-drinking
vegetarian separatist Pisces with choco-phobia
& I smile
while secretly biting down on the capsules concealed in my cheeks
then shake her hand drooling blood
I whisper
Hi I'm a flaming carnivorous double Scorpio who'll eat anything
& as she wilts in dismay trembles with trepidation
hisses with disgust
Ah then little lettuces
we'll have our moment of laughing revenge



—Chrystos

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